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Dialogue in Limbo

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

"This is it!" say the American troops as they pile into flat-bottomed landing craft, as they tumble from transport planes in a kaleidoscope of colored parachutes, as they crash-land in gliders on the rough fields of France. No more "exercises." No more false alarms. This is the end of waiting, the end of controversy; this is the fabulous "second front," almost as important before it began as in today's bloody reality. . . . "This is it," say the Russians, shouting with relief, their blasted villages and dead millions in their minds and in their hearts a new sense of comradeship with the West. . . . And in Germany, Adolf Hitler and his fellow-conspirators say it, too, though not out loud. This is it; in the west as in the east and south the great German retreat has begun, and where it ends, they will end too. . . . "This is it," say the old people on the streets in Bayeux and the little villages of Normandy, greeting the Allied troops, smiling, bringing out wine long hidden, and flowers. "For this we have seen our homes and our people blown to pieces by your bombs, and have not wept. We knew you would come; we thought you would come sooner. But now you are here and, at the moment you arrive, we are free."

In the White House the President greets his guest. "How do you do, *mon Général*"; the Roosevelt smile expresses just the appropriate mixture of formality, cordiality, quizzical irony. (No title of state; he's a general, whatever he isn't; better stick to that and play safe.)

"How do you do, Mr. President. It is good of you to receive me."

"I'm glad to welcome you, General. It must have been difficult to leave England at such an hour."

"Not at all, Mr. President. This hour is not a particularly busy one for me." A pause; not a comfortable pause. "A few of our paratroops are at the front, in France, and doing well, I hear. But I, as you see, am not. Nor do I seem to be needed in London."

"The French are fighting like heroes, as we knew they would. And the underground, too, is evidently performing with amazing discipline—and an amazing degree of organization." The President smiled again, warmly and with an air of relief.

"You will pardon me, Mr. President, if I say that there is no reason to be amazed. The underground in all its phases—the Maquis, the saboteurs, our intelligence service—it does its work well. And why not? It has been fighting since the day the traitors of Vichy signed the Armistice. And for a long time, Mr. President, the resistance forces inside and those outside—the Free French forces—have been closely coordinated. This, of course, you know. I mention it only to explain why the performance of the underground fighters can hardly be termed amazing. They have poured their blood into the earth since long before your great country entered the struggle. They know how to fight, Mr. President."

The President smiled again, this time rather sardonically. He waved his cigarette. "Perhaps, General, it would be well to take up some of the particular questions you were good enough to come to Washington to discuss."

"Certainly, Mr. President. But these are exactly the questions we have been taking up. It is hardly a secret, I think, that the Provisional Government of France, which I have the honor to head, wishes the recognition of the government of the United States. It is specifically in its role as leader of the resistance of France, military and civilian, that it claims such recognition.

"I hesitated to come to Washington, Mr. President, particularly since the failure of your government to delegate a representative to meet with me in London seemed to underscore your attitude toward the Committee of Liberation. But the safety of France means more to me than my pride, which is considerable. Therefore I am here. I wish to talk of matters which should have been settled long before the Allied armies landed in France. Even now our people are beginning to ask uneasy questions. . . . Mr. President, I put it to you plainly: Do you wish to repeat in France the sequence of unhappy events that took place in North Africa?"

The President stopped smiling. "I was not aware that things had gone so badly in North Africa. The Germans have been expelled from the country; a base was secured for operations across the Mediterranean—operations which are proving, I might add, a notable success; and in the French areas your own authority, my dear General, seems quite firmly established. I hardly see how

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North Africa serves to illustrate your point. In fact, if you will excuse me, I'm afraid I hardly see your point."

General de Gaulle's expression grew more stubborn. "North Africa was a military success, Mr. President, and a political fiasco. Only a timely assassination saved your administration from disaster. Your attempts to sidetrack the only French authorities that could command a popular following increased by many times the prevailing Gaullist sentiment; they cost you the friendship of the French people of North Africa. America is hated in the region you chose first to liberate. I find it painful to say this, Mr. President, but it is true."

Mr. Roosevelt flushed. "I think, General de Gaulle, we are again wasting time. You came from London not, I assume, to rake up past controversies but to discuss the future of France. Let us do so."

"As you please, Mr. President. North Africa merely illustrates France, but the illustration is not exact because in France, happily, we are spared many of the complications which confused the issue in North Africa. In France we need not, for example, worry about the feelings and prerogatives of the traitors of Vichy—or I assume we need not, Mr. President? No, clearly not. We have your explicit word for that. In France we can concentrate on wiping out and driving out the enemy and on maintaining an orderly administration."

The President nodded. "You could not have phrased the situation better, General. That is exactly the task we have set out to perform. You have omitted only one point: the determination of the Allied powers to see to it that the people of France have a chance to choose their own government as soon as the country is cleared of enemy forces. This is an element in *our* program of liberation which must not be forgotten, General."

"I have not forgotten it, Mr. President. It is equally an element in the program of the Provisional Government. Plans for a national referendum and the calling of a constituent assembly have been worked out in detail by the Committee of National Liberation and the Consultative Assembly. We announced those plans to the world, Mr. President; we are publicly committed to carrying them through. Meanwhile, the country must be administered and the Provisional Government has completed its preparations for that role, too. We believe it to be essential that civilian agencies move in as the enemy moves out.

"Mr. President, no other governing body has even been germinated in the soil of France—outside of Vichy. No other could possibly claim the allegiance of the people. It is stupid, I know, to sit here repeating known facts. They all point to one conclusion, and it is this that I wish to submit to you with all the energy and conviction I can command: You have only a single choice in France—to recognize and deal with the Provisional Government or to install an Allied military administration such as you set up in Italy, and then to look around, as you did there, for local functionaries to act as instruments of Allied policy.

"May I say, Mr. President, that the results of the political strategy pursued in Italy are hardly so striking as to make it seem worthy of imitation elsewhere? The government created by the Allies was from the start incapable of rousing a spark of popular support. But France is not Italy. Both you, Mr. President, and General Eisenhower have promised to entrust the administration of France to the French people. Secretary Hull said very clearly that the United States was 'disposed' to depend upon the Committee of National Liberation for the establishment of order as France is liberated. This is not a promise of recognition; Mr. Hull pointedly excluded recognition, but his words go well beyond the acts of your representatives. In each of his messages to the French people, General Eisenhower has studiously avoided any mention of the Committee of National Liberation. Naturally I am driven to wonder whether the cautious words of Mr. Hull are now considered inconsistent with your promise to let the French people direct the civil affairs of France. We maintain, Mr. President, that we represent the people of France as far as their will can be made known today. The Provisional Government has the active backing of the organized, political elements—all of them outside of Vichy, left, right, and center. Can any other government in exile claim more? Can many regularly elected governments claim as much? Can you yourself, Mr. President?"

The President was silent, and De Gaulle went on, with more confidence.

"The important things," he said, "in the next few months are practical things—feeding of the people, the organization of resistance. The agony of France has been great; it will be worse while the fighting lasts. The people are rising, all over France, to drive out the invader, to die in thousands—after five years of war and four years under Hitler. Nothing could be worse at this moment than a spreading suspicion that the Allied armies plan to use French lives—and then run France to suit themselves. . . . Those Allied francs! How could such a scheme be invented for use in a friendly country among people already starving on the fixed currency of the invader? For the Allies to have set up a fiscal system for liberated France—without even consulting the Provisional Government—makes an ugly joke of the very word 'liberation.'

"This is only one instance. Another, equally significant, perhaps, was the failure to use French troops in the first landings. Can it be that the Allied command feared demonstrations for De Gaulle and the Provisional Government? I hope not. But that is what people are asking.

"I hesitate to speak, Mr. President, of the failure of

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the Allied authorities to make use of my services in planning the military campaign in my own country, though to do so would have seemed not inappropriate to Frenchmen; I speak, rather, of their refusal to use me in helping direct the activities of the resistance movement inside France. My respect for General Eisenhower forbids me to question his judgment in military matters. On political questions, however, I can only believe that he follows the policy laid down by the British Foreign Office and your own State Department. And so I feel free to assume that his failure to use the Committee of National Liberation—whether recognized as a government or not—as an instrument of political war during the invasion of France can only be the result of an attitude on your part which I most passionately deplore."

The President puffed his cigarette. "I didn't like that business of executing Pucheu," he said.

De Gaulle frowned. "He was a traitor," he said.

"Bad business, that sort of retributive justice. Usually ends in terror, like Germany," said the President. "If your committee runs France, there might be a good deal of that. Too much."

De Gaulle spoke very carefully. "Pucheu," he said, "was tried in a French court. His rights were safeguarded as carefully as seemed possible in a situation such as exists today. Undoubtedly there will be more such trials. French patriots have died by thousands through the acts of traitors working for Germany. Either the men suspected of treason must go to trial—and promptly—or terror is inevitable. Not only inevitable, but excusable. I hope, Mr. President, that you do not imagine order will be better maintained without the help of French authority."

"Oh no, on the contrary. We must depend on French authority all the way. Under the direction of the military, of course. We've said that right along. The only question is, General, what authority? If we take your word for it, your committee is the only authority there is. Well, we'll see. If that's so, we shall soon find out. But—well, let's let it go at that.

"As for those American francs and the other specific points you brought up—I must say I think you have a case. It's too late to do anything about the francs, I'm afraid. They're all over the place already. But perhaps we can do something to keep prices from skyrocketing the way they did in Italy. Hard to, though, without taking money out of the pockets of American soldiers—and that's harder still. I'll speak to Eisenhower about the whole list. He's really the one to decide—within the limits, of course, of the government's basic policy.

"And now, General, haven't we pretty well covered the ground you had in mind? I have a good many appointments and I know you are anxious to get back nearer the scene of action. I am, myself; indeed I envy you. These are great days—and terrible ones. But we are winning, and that's the main thing after all, isn't it? These other problems—well, they seem secondary, however much they clamor for attention. When we think of those boys fighting their way in from the beaches . . ."

"Into France," said General de Gaulle.

"Of course, into France," said the President. He looked a little nettled at having his closing sentence broken off.

The General stood. Mr. Roosevelt grinned with that sudden amiability that speeds the unwanted guest, held out his hand. De Gaulle looked down at the President. "I am going back," he said, "disappointed and confused. I thought I might alter your position, although I knew it was not likely. But I thought that if I failed, you might at least tell me honestly and openly your reasons for maintaining an attitude that seems to me so dangerous. You have not told me your reasons, though I think you approached them when you mentioned Pucheu.

"I am not taken in, Mr. President, by your smile, nor by the off-hand way you dispose of the problem of governing France. I have been told that you dislike me but I do not believe that this, either, explains your refusal to recognize my government. You are not a high-school girl. Nor do I believe you entertain serious doubts as to the strength of my government with the people of France. If you will pardon me, I think this a convenient and rather appealing excuse to give the public.

"No, Mr. President, I believe your attitude toward me and the government I head is an expression of policy. I can only guess at that policy. I think you are opposed to the Provisional Government of France because you believe that, under me, it will be too independent, too firm, too set upon maintaining the sovereignty of France. It will not be subservient, as Darlan was subservient. It will not protect men who are traitors merely because they consented to serve later as agents of the Allies. I do not know what other 'authorities' you plan to deal with, if any. I do not share the suspicions of those who say you are ready to make use of those pre-armistice appeasers who held aloof from Vichy—men like Georges Bonnet. Still less do I credit the stories that you have an understanding with Noguès or with the clique of financial collaborationists who wait to come to terms with any power that will assure them protection and profits. I realize that these are the sort of people you accepted in North Africa, but in France such a deal would bring down on you the unlimited anger of the very forces you are calling on today to share the struggle against Hitler. No, I do not think you will pick any Peyroutons or Pucheus in France.

"What then? What is your alternative to the Committee of National Liberation? I think I know. I think you prefer to the tough reality of the committee

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—of my Provisional Government—a state of fluid uncertainty, a state in which you can maintain the dominance of Allied armed power, using as instruments whatever individuals or groups seem suitable—and suitably pliable. I think you want, for the present at least, a weak France, weak in will as well as in material force. With such a France it would be possible to make bargains—an island here or there, perhaps; a naval base. . . . Who can tell what the security of the United States will require in terms of power and resources? Dakar—can it be left safely in French hands? Or the French islands of the Caribbean?

"I think, Mr. President, that questions like this control your policy toward France—and toward me. I think you would prefer to hold off until you see whether more conservative, more 'reasonable' elements may not emerge with at least enough backing to give a color of excuse for dealing with them.

"I hope I am wrong, Mr. President, because such a policy seems to me reckless and indefensible. It may easily plunge France into civil war. I hope I am wrong but since you will not tell me, I can only take my suspicions back to England with me.

"Goodbye, Mr. President. In spite of everything we shall do our duty. We shall cooperate to the limit with General Eisenhower to drive the Germans out of our country.We shall also do our best to govern France until the people can speak. We shall try to prevent internal collapse and revolution even if it means shooting every collaborationist in and out of Vichy. We shall do our best, Mr. President. May God speed our common cause."

The Shape of Things

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE BALKANS have been somewhat obscured in the past week by more dramatic events on the coast of France, but the Germans have lost nothing of their enthusiasm for controlling that part of the world. In Bulgaria the Allies have received a serious setback in the formation of a new pro-Nazi government; Russian attacks around Iasi, in Rumania, have been fiercely resisted, and Marshal Tito's headquarters in Bosnia have been subjected to a vicious German assault. Fourteen German divisions, four Bulgarian divisions, 120,000 to 130,000 Croat Ustashis, 15,000 followers of the Serbian puppet Nedich, three regiments of the Serbian White Corps, 12,000 Slovene legionnaires, and about 10,000 Albanians, all under the command of Field Marshal von Weichs, are fighting against Tito's 250,000 or 300,000 men. Fortunately, Axis efforts to annihilate the Yugoslav resistance have been frustrated by Tito's technique of rapidly dispersing and regrouping his troops, and air and sea contact between the Anglo-American base in Bari and Tito's headquarters has been successfully maintained. General Maitland Wilson's forces in the Middle East are undoubtedly waiting for a Russian victory over Rumania before rushing toward the Balkans. Once Russia has occupied Bulgaria, Tito can lead the Soviet and Anglo-American armies from northern Yugoslavia, through Austria, into Germany. The Balkans will be a decisive factor in the final collapse of German military strength.

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WITH THE COLLAPSE OF THE BADOGLIO regime the Allies' second experiment in imposing ex-collaborators with the Axis upon the liberated peoples has met its deserved fate. The Italian repudiation of Badoglio was as complete and throughgoing as the French repudiation of Darlan, Peyrouton, and Giraud. The new Premier, Ivanoe Bonomi, has a clean record as far as Fascism is concerned. He opposed Mussolini and his Black Shirts before the March on Rome in 1922, and has maintained his opposition through the years at the cost of great personal hardship. In recent months he has been the leader of the anti-Fascist National Committee of Liberation in Rome. Unlike some of the pre-Fascist political leaders, Bonomi's reputation for integrity is untarnished. Following Mussolini's rise to power he disposed of the furniture of a comfortable Rome apartment and lived for years in an attic. In sharp contrast to Badoglio's temporizing policies, Bonomi's first action was to promise a thorough purge of all Fascists still holding public office in the liberated sections of Italy. Another innovation was the Cabinet's refusal to swear allegiance to the royal house; instead, its members took an oath to uphold the Constitution—pre-Fascist model.

✳

THE BEACHES OF NORMANDY ARE HARDLY visible from Capitol Hill. Inside the House of Representatives there is no sound of the Battle of Europe. It is D-Day; but Congress has its own work to do and it can hardly take time out for history. At first it seems that the representatives of the American people may turn from partisan politics and match the solemnity of the hour with high action. But the moment passes. Visitors to the galleries have come from their radios, from the headlines, from conversation with a taxi driver whose son is a paratrooper. Now they look down with bewilderment. There are good men down there, good Americans whose sons, some of them, are dying this morning so that Europe and the world may be liberated. But in charge of the debate are the shallow, unseeing men who are converting the tragedy of another fateful day into a tawdry issue of party gain. Step up to that microphone and rant that the Administration has something to hide in wanting to postpone a court martial. Block that amendment. File like sheep past the tellers. This is the time-tested game of politics. What day is this? D-Day? What has that to do with us? Our men are landing on the beaches of France? But have they votes in November?

✳

THE PRICE CONTROL ACT IS ONCE MORE IN grave danger. While few opponents of the Administration dare at this time to come out openly against the war-time regulation of prices, both the House and the Senate have adopted a number of amendments which, if retained, will completely wreck the stabilization program. It is difficult to say which body has proposed the more crippling changes. Both have shown uncalled-for solicitude for violators of the act. The House version of the bill extending the life of the OPA permits violators of the agency's regulations to avoid prosecution for a year or more by throwing enforcement cases into the District Court and wiping out the present provision requiring all protests to be filed within sixty days. Another amendment hampers the OPA in checking the figures presented by a firm by compelling the agency to accept "the established accounting method of the firm" in determining whether a price violation has occurred. The House bill also removed an important weapon in enforcement by cutting the damages which a consumer may recover from three times the excess price to one and a half times the excess. The Senate went a step farther by writing an amendment that would ignore any violation of the price control where the offender could show that he had not acted "wilfully" or as "the result of failure to take practical precautions." In addition to these attempts to undermine the enforcement of the act, the Senate has passed the Bankhead amendment lifting ceilings on cotton textiles, while the House has written in clauses which will raise rents and increase prices of cheap clothing, gasoline, and oil. It is time for consumers to protest—loudly.

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WHATEVER HOPE SEWELL AVERY MAY HAVE had of capitalizing on his appearance before the House committee to attract public attention to his "blitz" against the government collapsed when his day in court happened to coincide with the invasion of Europe. But it did not matter much. Avery's testimony contributed little or nothing to his case. He was compelled to admit that he had forced his ejection from the plant in an effort to dramatize his protest against governmental interference. He attacked his industrial colleagues on the WLB because they were not as able as the union members, and suggested that he would probably be the best man for the President to appoint to the agency. Apart from this, his one constructive suggestion for a solution of the basic problems of war-time labor relations was the complete abolition of the WLB. Obviously delighted with the publicity he had received when he was ousted from his office, Mr. Avery prepared the way for a return engagement by refusing once again to extend Ward's contract with the union as ordered by the WLB. But meanwhile Mr. Avery's last hope for sustaining the legality of his action collapsed when a United States Court of Appeals held unanimously that the orders of the WLB were not reviewable in court. The decision not only vindicated Attorney General Biddle's rulings but directly contradicted the highly partisan report of the McCarran-Revercomb committee, which had been hailed by Avery's supporters.

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Anxiety in Cairo

Cairo, June 11, by Cable

FRENCH circles here are distressed by the apparent decision of the Allied command to deprive France's own government of wide prerogatives in the most critical hour of its history. Government by General Eisenhower is called "abnormal."

The French here are saddened by reports from Algiers that the broadcast on June 8 of Commissioner of the Interior d'Astier over the United Nations radio to the *maquis* was barred because the expression "Provisional Government" was used. They also resent the fact that non-French francs are being issued to the troops in France. Hostility toward America is mounting.

MICHAEL CLARK

THE HOUSE'S UNEXEPECTED DEFEAT OF THE Smith amendments designed to emasculate the WLB and prevent other plant seizures was by far the most thorough repudiation of that committee in years. Representative Smith had succeeded in persuading the Rules Committee that his anti-WLB amendments should be added to the pending legislation for the extension of the Price Control Act. Without voting directly on the amendments the House challenged the authority of the Rules Committee to introduce new legislation under the guise of establishing a "rule." The committee's high-handed action was repudiated by a vote of nearly three to one, with many Republicans joining the New Deal Democrats in administering the rebuke. It is to be hoped that in addition to checking the increasingly dictatorial practices of the Rules Committee the setback will serve as a warning against future conspiratorial tactics on the part of Old Guard Republicans and Southern Democrats.

*

THE KU KLUX KLAN HAS BEEN OFFICIALLY disbanded, but it is not as dead as it deserves. In an interview with the Atlanta *Journal*, Imperial Wizard James A. Colescott declared that he and other officers retain their titles although their functions are "suspended." "We have," he added, "authority to meet and reincarnate at any time." Reincarnation, according to our understanding, means rebirth of the spirit in a different body, and this seems to be exactly what is happening. We learn from Frank McCallister, who as Southern secretary of the Workers' Defense League did such valiant work from 1935 on in exposing Klan attacks on trade unionism, that already many Kluxers have joined the Keystone Society, a newly formed "patriotic" group. Another organization competing for their support is Vigilantes, Inc., fathered by ex-Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia. Moreover, the semi-disembodied spirit of the Klan surely was present at the Texas and Mississippi Democratic state conventions which threatened to bolt the party's Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominees unless the national platform included a "white supremacy" plank. And living up to its non-partisan tradition, it alighted recently in the midst of the Indiana Republicans, reviving memories of the time when the Klan dominated that state and under the leadership of D. C. Stephenson gave it the most corrupt administration it ever had. In those days Robert W. Lyons was treasurer of the Indiana Klan; on June 2 he was elected state member of the Republican National Committee.

Beginning of the End

D-DAY was hailed with a sense of relief all over the world, but people were quick to realize that a new period of tension lay ahead. Now we must wait again, keeping our nerves under control, for indications that the invasion has succeeded. According to Arthur Krock of the New York *Times*, the High Command expects a lapse of four to five weeks before any conclusive verdict on General Eisenhower's operations can be given. By that time the whole design of the grand strategy decided on at the Teheran conference may have emerged. For it must not be forgotten that the landings in France are not an isolated event. They are linked closely to the drive in Italy, which is developing with such success, to the campaign of Marshal Tito, which may be supplemented by Allied operations in the Balkans, and, finally but most important of all, to the new blows which the Red Army has begun to deliver on the eastern front.

In the immediate future we can expect plenty of colorful details of the fighting but little news of the kind that will enable us to assess its progress. There will be no release from Allied headquarters of any information that could possibly help the enemy. This involves a risk that the public will pay too much attention to the artfully concocted mixture of fact and fancy that Goebbels is serving in generous portions. We can only hope that the press will be careful in handling stories from this source. It was unfortunate, to say the least, that the fall of Caen was headlined on a German say-so when next day the papers had to admit that the battle for the town continued.

The broad outline of General Eisenhower's strategy became clear as soon as the location of the first landings were known. It was based upon the geography of the Cotentin Peninsula, which sticks into the English Channel like a raised thumb. At its northern tip, less than ninety miles from the nearest point of the English coast, is the well-equipped deep-water port of Cherbourg. The shores of the peninsula are rocky and unsuitable for landing craft but immediately to the east are the wide sandy beaches of the Bay of the Seine. Here the chief landing—to date—was made and a beachhead established cutting the main road and rail communications of Cherbourg.

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At the same time the peninsula itself was saturated with Allied parachutists whose apparent objective was to isolate Cherbourg and prevent any Nazi reinforcements from reaching it. If this port can be captured the first essential for the deep penetration of France—a good supply base where heavy equipment can be landed—will have been secured.

Our successes in taking the Normandy beaches proved that a certain amount of bluff had been mixed with the concrete of the Atlantic Wall. In places the first echelons ashore encountered fierce resistance and suffered heavy casualties, but the fixed defenses proved much less formidable than Nazi propaganda had suggested. This does not mean, however, that Marshals Rundstedt and Rommel have shot their bolt. Whatever Goebbels may have said, they have known all along that they could not stop an invasion on the beaches, and accordingly they have concentrated their best troops well inland as a mobile, strategic reserve to be hurled at the Allies once it is clear where the main line of attack is developing. The next crisis of the invasion, which may come before these words appear in print, will arise when this élite German force is put in motion. However, Rommel must be sure that Normandy is really the danger point before he can afford to counter-attack there. He knows that only a fraction of General Eisenhower's forces are engaged so far, and the Allied warning to fishermen from Norway to the Pyrenees to stay in port suggests that new landings are contemplated.

But while the Nazi generals wait, the Allied bridgeheads grow stronger. Moreover, the American and British air forces are busy sweeping a wide arc south of the Channel, bombing and shooting up everything German that moves on rail or road, attacking bridges, marshaling yards, stations, barracks, and supply dumps. This war of attrition from the air, together with that carried on by the underground, must be reducing both the mobility and the potential striking power of the Nazi strategic reserve. Yet in the opening stages of the invasion there was little sign of counter-measures by the Luftwaffe. In the first two and a half days of the invasion Allied planes flew 27,000 sorties with a loss of little more than 1 per cent. What remains of the Luftwaffe is being hoarded, perhaps for a blow to be synchronized with Rommel's counter-attack.

The dilemma of the German western command is but one phase of the total dilemma which total warfare has become for Hitler. Now his old nightmare has become grim reality. Germany is encircled, forced to fight not merely on two but on four fronts. Indeed, we may say on five, for while external foes batter down the walls of Fortress Europe, unarmed but increasingly formidable enemies fight within its gates. The strength Hitler commands is still great but not great enough to beat all his challengers at once. Where, then, shall he throw his reserves? Into the western breach and have nothing left to bolster the east when the Red Army strikes? Or must he stem the Russian tide at all costs even though it means opening a path to the Rhine? Again, how far can he strip his home garrisons when Germany harbors ten million foreign slaves waiting a chance to break their bonds?

Facing defeat, Hitler will fight hard and cunningly. We must be prepared to withstand hard knocks, to suffer setbacks, to avoid diplomatic booby traps. But we have arrived at the beginning of the end, and only a suicidal disruption of the United Nations can rob us of victory.

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

IT IS EXTREMELY FORTUNATE that the mutual relations of the great powers of Europe are today as nearly cordial as they have been for many years, for the state of the Balkan peninsula is more than ever threatening to the peace of the world.—*June 7, 1894.*

THE TESTIMONY THUS FAR adduced in the police inquiry has agreed in fixing pretty definitely the rates of Tammany tariff on some forms of vice and other sources of revenue. Thus, the regular rate for a disorderly house is $500 "initiation fee" to the police captain, to be paid whenever a new captain is placed in charge of the district; . . . the regular tariff for admission to the police force is $300.—*June 14, 1894.*

DU MAURIER'S "TRILBY," after having finished its course in the *Magazine*, will be published by the Harpers in August.—*June 14, 1894.*

WE LEARN FROM DR. MURRAY, who is passing the letter D of the New English Dictionary through the press, that American readers can render a great assistance by noting early instances of *all* the terms of American politics, since this research is very difficult if undertaken in England. —*June 14, 1894.*

THE CURIOUS STATE OF MIND into which the world is getting on the subject of the unemployed is seen again in the new view of the horrible dangers of a general disarmament. Members of the English and French chambers of commerce met in Paris last Friday to discuss that question, and discovered a "consensus of opinion" that such a disarmament would have a most serious effect upon labor, as it would add the 3,750,000 now in European armies to the ranks of the unemployed.—*June 28, 1894.*

MR. CROKER'S MALARIAL AFFECTION, which started him for Europe so suddenly a few weeks ago, has disappeared, and he is about to return to us again without warning. . . . As he will arrive here after the [legislative investigating] committee has adjourned for the summer, and there will be ample opportunity for his ailment to break out again before it resumes its work, this demonstration of "who's afraid?" must be taken for what it is worth. —*June 28, 1894.*

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How Washington Took the News

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, June 9

MOST of the Washington press corps, like most of official Washington, slept peacefully through the early hours of D-Day. The first announcement that the second front had been opened came at 12:37 a.m., long after the usual deadlines of the morning-paper bureaus and long before that of the evenings. The German source of the news and the absence of any confirmation here or in London made bureau chiefs skeptical, and decided them against staff mobilizations. The few who came down town after the German broadcast noted the usual sights—an occasional light in the darkened Navy Department, the lonely sentries before the White House, the couples making love across the way in Lafayette Park. The moon was full, the weather mild.

The Secretary of War and the Chief of Staff had left their offices at 5 p.m. the day before and were safe abed. The big military secret was that Elmer Davis, on leaving the National Press Club at 9:30 that night, had gone back to his office at the OWI. The one exciting place in town was the foreign news bureau of the OWI in the Social Security Building near the Capitol, but in the huge adjoining press room as late as 3 a.m. there were only two reporters waiting for the big news—Libby Donahue of *PM* and Joe Laitin of the United Press, neither certain that anything would turn up. There was a guard at the door to keep them away from Elmer Davis's office, and a terrific clatter and clang issued from the foreign news room, with its huge battery of tickers, each with a bell that rings when particularly hot news comes over the wires. The bells rang often and the place was a mad scramble of OWI foreign staff members, but as Libby says, "those boys are crazy even on a clear day," and one couldn't be sure. Five minutes before United Nations confirmation of the second front at 3:32 a.m. Miss Donahue was confidentially informed from an authoritative source that she might as well go home as there would be a long delay. She decided, however, to stay.

By the time news of the invasion was confirmed, a Philadelphia *Inquirer* reporter and an Acme photographer had also arrived, and all were ushered into Elmer Davis's office to hear General Eisenhower's broadcast over short wave. Davis looked tired and dazed but perked up over General Eisenhower's delivery, which was good. "That man could go places on radio when the war's over," Davis said admiringly.

The State Department moved its regular press conference from noon to 11 a.m. on D-Day, perhaps out of a sense of the urgency of the occasion. On the way there we saw a group of curious people, police, and photographers waiting to get a glimpse of the visiting Polish Premier. He had an appointment with Under Secretary Stettinius at 10:30, and the latter, in full protocol, walked across the street to escort Mikolajczyk over. What they said to each other, then or later, remains a secret, but the Soviet Ambassador arrived at the department an hour afterward. In between, the Under Secretary met the press. Hull was away resting at Hershey, Pennsylvania, and as always it was a pleasure to see Stettinius's youthful face and quick smile in his place. The Under Secretary read a prepared statement, "The liberation of Europe has begun . . ."—one of many like it on D-Day from departmental and embassy mimeographs. Then he went on to announce recognition of the new Ecuadorean government, the arrival of the Gripsholm at Jersey City, an agreement by the Japanese government to pick up supplies at Vladivostok for interned Allied nationals.

From embassies and department heads, press releases on the invasion began to appear, but aside from these synthetic reactions there was little excitement in the capital and—significant item—bond sales actually fell off. J. Edgar Hoover called for alertness on the home front, and the War Department asked Congress to establish sixty-nine new national cemeteries. All over town, in government offices as well as in churches, there were special prayer services, and many who do not ordinarily pray joined in them with a sober sense of the struggle on distant beachheads and its human cost. But on Capitol Hill, where some of us seemed to feel prayer was most needed, it had little effect. The galleries were well filled, mostly with visiting service men, but there were only eleven Senators and a scattering of Representatives present when the day's session opened. Minority Leader Martin told the House that "partisan politics . . . disappear as we think of the heroic deeds of our men and women," but this must be put down to poetic license. The Republican-Southern Democratic coalition soon got back to work in both houses with unabated enthusiasm. "I felt humble this morning when advised of the invasion," Majority Leader McCormack said. "A strange feeling came over me." The feeling was not widely shared.

Celler of New York tried to block a resolution to speed up the trial of Kimmel and Short by pointing out that Pearl Harbor was in part due to an attitude of public "indifference and callousness . . . influenced by some of the isolationist remarks made in this very House . . . by the gentlemen who are the sponsors of this bill." Said Celler, "I have due respect for the gentlemen and

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I do not charge them with anything . . . they had a perfect right to their opinions." Retorted Dewey Short of Missouri boldly, "We still have them." The House passed his resolution for trial of Kimmel and Short within three months by a vote of 305 to 35, though trial may disrupt military-naval operations. The Senate went ahead on a bill which promises to hamstring the OPA.

The big local event of the day was the President's regular press conference at 4 p.m., which drew a record crowd. Most of the President's official family, from Fala to Judge Rosenman, seemed to be with him in the executive offices, waiting in a kind of holiday mood to watch the old maestro handle the press. The President was happy and confident but tired, and he has aged. His hand shook a little when he lifted it to the same jaunty cigarette holder. He answers questions slowly, looking up at the ceiling, occasionally wiggling his face and scratching his chest between phrases. Our faces must have shown what most of us felt as we came in. For he began, after an extraordinary pause of several minutes in which no questions were asked and we all stood silent, by saying that the correspondents had the same look on their faces that people all over the country must have and that he thought this a very happy conference. I asked him toward the close to tell us what hopes he felt on this great day, and he said to win the war—100 per cent.

I thought the President's prayer that night a gauche affair, addressing God in a familiar, conversational, and explanatory tone, as if it were a fireside chat beamed at heaven. But I am inclined to be charitable when I think of what D-Day means to Franklin D. Roosevelt, of the years since the "quarantine" speech in which he tried to awaken the American people to their danger and to gird them against enemies they so long refused to recognize. How different it would have been could we have gone into France before it fell; how much easier our task. And how different it would have been if the Germans had turned west and south toward Africa and South America instead of east. How poorly prepared we were in 1941 to resist, and how poorly prepared we are even today to understand. D-Day's events in Congress, the slash last Saturday in UNRRA funds, the unseemly and ungrateful uproar over the lend-leasing of a cruiser to the Soviet Union indicate how backward public opinion continues to be, and how formidable is the task the President will face in making the peace. D-Day served to remind us that we are heavily in debt to the man in the White House as well as to the boys on the beachheads.

Montgomery, Master of Attack

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

[*Lieutenant Bolté, late of the King's Royal Rifle Corps, is a young American who enlisted in the British army before the United States entered the war. He served in Africa under General Montgomery, now in command of the Allied ground forces in Europe, and was wounded at Alamein.*]

GENERAL SIR BERNARD MONTGOMERY, who has soldiered for thirty-five of his fifty-six years with a kind of monkish devotion and single-mindedness, is the ideal field-army commander. His tough, wiry body is matched by his tough, flexible mind; he commands the fullest confidence of his troops; he has studied his enemy thoroughly; and he has mastered the principle of close cooperation between air and ground forces.

Drawing by Laszlo Fodor

General Montgomery

I emphasize toughness. Viscount Wavell, probably the best British general of this war and one of the great Englishmen of our time, says generals should be made to pass the same test for toughness that field guns used to be put through by the Royal Artillery. The testing officers would drop a new gun from a hundred-foot tower and then go down and fire it. If it went off all right, the board would consider it for further tests.

This test might snap the Montgomery body, but I can't believe it would damage the Montgomery mind or the Montgomery character. In the Western Desert Montgomery showed himself to be almost the first Allied commander willing to pay the price of victory. It took a tough mind to carry out General Alexander's plan of attack at Alamein, when desert-weary and defeat-sickened troops were ordered against the stiffest part of the German defenses. Montgomery knew in advance that casualties would run high—75 per cent, in some battalions—but he knew the victory would be worth the price, and his army paid it for him.

I first saw him about a month before the battle, when he reviewed our battalion at Burg el Arab, just behind

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the lines. In the clean sweep of commanders which followed the June retreat to Alamein, Montgomery had come out from England unknown except for two things: he was keen on spit and polish, and mad about physical training. To the Desert Rats, that most casual, cynical, and business-like of all armies, nothing more damning needed to be known. They were prepared to dislike the little general. The first meeting confirmed their suspicions. He reviewed the entire battalion without saying a word to anyone except the officers, slapped his open palm with a swagger stick as he walked, and stared into every man's face with the brightest and most piercing blue eyes I ever saw.

I was frankly scared of the man and what he might do with us. He looked to me like an old-line general with an infantry-artillery mind: crush 'em and walk through 'em. We moaned quite a lot after he left, and thought him arrogant.

The battle made us stop moaning, although we still thought him arrogant. In the first place, we all knew what was going on: by his order the plan of battle was passed down through the ranks, until the last rifleman knew not only what he was to do but what the divisions on his right and left were to do. Moreover, he knew *why* he was to do it. That was revolutionary, being taken into a general's confidence, and it made us feel with a kind of excitement that we were going into an adventure that had purpose and direction.

Taken into his confidence, we gave him our own. It was a very bad battle, but no one ran away. The victory strengthened our belief in him. Montgomery knows what makes our kind of men operate in battle, and he has said: "You must give our troops leadership and establish absolute confidence between commanders and soldiers." Then, a little wrily, he added: "The surest method of gaining confidence is success." Successes at Alamein, at Agheila, at Mareth, in Tunisia, Sicily, and Italy gave the Eighth Army so much confidence in Montgomery that they would cheerfully have started for Berlin on any day he issued the order. "You can do anything with an army if its morale is high," he says.

Tough-mindedness gives him the moral strength to pay the price of victory; self-confidence and the knowledge that he has the confidence of his troops give him freedom of choice in making difficult decisions. His profound knowledge of his enemy means that he can be assured of the psychological and tactical correctness of his decisions. Before he ever came to the desert, he saw Rommel's fatal limitation—that he was a brilliant tactician but repeated himself. Knowing what to expect from Rommel, Montgomery could always move in advance to counter him. But he slept with Rommel's picture above his bed, to remind himself what manner of man he had to beat.

As for the German soldier, Montgomery calls him first-class and well-trained, very good technically in the use of his weapons, with a very good eye for ground and a sense of complete obedience. Still—some of them captured in Italy were "not frightfully intelligent." The youngsters, thoroughly indoctrinated with fascism, are "very cockahoop"; the older men, not so well indoctrinated, are not so cockahoop. In short: "The German is a good soldier and he will fight, though I believe it is true that once you get him down he cracks up."

This is important knowledge for a field commander to have. He can prejudge his opponent's reactions; he does not overrate the opposition, but he certainly does not underrate it. Thus forewarned by careful study, Montgomery can utilize his own flexibility of mind. It is always difficult to apportion praise for victory among a commander-in-chief, his chief of staff, and the field commander; nevertheless, I think history will credit Alexander for the African campaign, just as it will credit Eisenhower for the European campaign. Theirs the strategy; but Montgomery's the application of strategy, which *is* tactics.

Montgomery was one of a little group of forward-looking British officers who began to study and prepare for this war in the '20's, while he was still a comparatively junior officer. He familiarized himself with the mechanics of the war that was to come, especially the two innovations which were to prove most radical in changing the course of warfare—the internal-combustion engine and the two-way radio set, which gave mobility back to the army and gave the commander instantaneous intelligence which enabled him in turn to transmit instantaneous orders. As the sledge-hammer translating first Alexander's and now Eisenhower's plans into action, Montgomery's flexibility of mind comes out strongly.

Thus at Alamein he reversed accepted desert procedure: instead of fighting a tank battle, he chewed up Rommel's infantry with his own guns and infantry. Rommel had either to counter-attack with his armor to save his infantry or retreat without them. He couldn't retreat because he would have no troops to hold another line to the west; so he was forced to fight a tank battle at Alamein, on ground of Montgomery's choosing. Since Montgomery dictated the time and place of the battle, he could mass his armor and hold it in reserve until Rommel had committed himself. Then the Eighth Army's preponderance of anti-tank guns and its armored superiority—guaranteed by the superb new American Sherman tank—were decisive. The Battle of Africa was won on the ground of Alamein, and Rommel never again made up his armored strength.

Flexibility gained victory at the Mareth Line next spring. Montgomery opened the battle with a frontal attack against the strongest part of the line, as he did at Alamein. The line held, and Montgomery sent a force

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through the desert around the Germans' right flank. The mere threat of its presence behind him caused Rommel to pull out.

Finally, Montgomery has formulated and tested the great principle of modern war: "First you must win the battle of the air. That must come before you start a single land or sea operation." From Alamein to Normandy he has not fought a battle which violates this principle. He and Air Marshal Cunningham, commander of the Desert Air Force, lived side by side throughout the African campaign, and fulfilled Montgomery's precept that the land and air chiefs must be "very great friends." He goes on to say: "Each side must realize the other's difficulties. Air power cannot operate without good landing grounds. The getting of these is always part of the army plan. The air aspect dominates the plan. The airman is very sensitive about air fields." So you have bulldozers landing in the first wave in Normandy, and taking their place beside tanks and guns as prime weapons. The bulldozers clear air strips so the planes can take off and smash enemy resistance so the army can advance and the bulldozers clear more air strips so the planes can take off again, in a cycle that ends at Berlin.

Montgomery believes that each man should command his own force absolutely; but "the army-air have to be so knitted that the two form one entity. The resultant military effort is so great that nothing can stand up against it."

His careful study of the enemy, his understanding of the importance of establishing high morale in his troops, his insistence on gaining air supremacy make him careful. He will not be stampeded. He says: "I always go for certainty. That is why preparation must be complete and without hurry." This time he has the benefit of the most careful preparation ever lavished on a military operation. He goes into battle with troops who believe in him, who admire his cockiness, who like the savor of his orders of the day (he is one of the few generals who can get away with rhetoric). He faces his old antagonist, the bully boy become field marshal, whose daring was so fabulous we coined a verb to describe a hair-raising exploit—"to Rommel." I'm not predicting dates or places, but the Desert Fox will certainly have his brush taken again by the son of the Bishop of Tasmania, whose battle cry was Cromwell's: "Let God arise and let His enemies be scattered."

London on D-Day

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

London, June 7, by Cable

NO ONE in Britain yesterday will ever forget the impact of the news. People seemed to walk about the street with a new spring in their steps. There was a light in their eyes that had not shone for almost four years. In Frenchmen, Poles, Czechs, Russians, Norwegians, Belgians, even the stolid Dutch—in all of them one could see a new radiance. Liberation was beginning. The idea of freedom was no longer a concept bandied about in discussion but a living fact which made the lives of each of us a different and a happier thing. We had waited so long: at last we could hope that we had not waited in vain. Anyone who listened to Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons yesterday must have felt that a new epoch had dawned. He was not excited. Rather he was soberly careful to make it evident that the immense operations upon which we had embarked must be thought of as the first stage in a process at the end of which the dreams of millions would come true.

It was not easy for the House to sit still. It was even difficult for strangers in bus and tube not to speak to one another. Wherever a newsvender appeared, there gathered about him a vast crowd which for the first time in years could not bear to form a queue lest it lose the chance of a paper containing some new detail. I think the two main emotions were of relief and pride—of relief that at last the tradition which goes back so many hundred years in Britain was to secure its vindication, of pride that so massive a feat of organization had a clear prospect of a triumphant end.

What, above all, impressed me yesterday was the fact that the beginning of these gigantic operations has made the United Nations something more than a congeries of peoples. They have been welded, we hope, into a unity, a commonwealth, which has reached the stage where it can meet the enemy as a single being. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that yesterday the peoples of a dozen nations in London were one people, that they knew no difference because they shared a common hope that the backbone of Nazism was about to be broken. Men who had ceased to dream began again to dream.

A Frenchman invited me to dinner in Paris at Christmas; a Dutch professor asked me if I would give some lectures next year at the University of Leyden; a Czech spoke of the thrill that his family, which he had not seen since 1938, would know he shared with them at the same moment of time. It is, I think, literally true that for twelve hours of yesterday there was neither Jew nor

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Greek, neither bond nor free. All of us in London were part of a great fellowship, the heart of which was on the beaches of the French coast.

We heard the long throbbing drone of the bombers with pride. This time four years ago we were waiting to be invaded; now we were moving to emancipate civilization. We were at grips with the Nazi enemy on European soil. Thousands of ships were taking our men to that rendezvous which, if it bring death to thousands, brings also the life of freedom to posterity. One man said to me in the tube that he had hardly dared even to think of a Europe over which the swastika did not fly, and the tears were in his eyes when he said how proud he was that his boy was among the first group of paratroops.

I saw American soldiers in Oxford Street shake hands with British Tommies whom quite obviously they had never met before. I saw members of Parliament so moved that they could not speak. Everyone I spoke with had about him an air of subdued excitement.

I do not think there is any tendency to underestimate the price we shall have to pay for victory. We know the fury of the rat in the corner. We recognize that these evil men who have the German people in their grip and have tyrannized two-thirds of Europe will stop at nothing if they can thereby save their skins. And many of us who talked together yesterday understood how great are the problems we shall face on the day of the Nazi surrender, realized that the Grand Alliance is easier in its relations as it shapes the victory than it will be when the victory is shaped.

Those of us who have had our doubts and fears of what Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt may intend found that for this day, at least, our worries had vanished. None of us thought of Mr. Churchill as the leader of the Tory Party, even though we may be driven to think of him as that tomorrow. We thought of him as a great Englishman who, with faults as high as the Himalayas, has never lost hope, has always given us encouragement, has never ceased to fortify our resolution. We thought of President Roosevelt as a great and generous ally. Tomorrow, perhaps, we may ask that he define the contours of the New Deal which made him the colleague of Jefferson and Lincoln.

Finally we did not forget that, at long last, the men in the Kremlin can see that our word is as good as our bond. We are on the road to freedom. There will be no turning back.

Public Opinion and the Next President

BY JEROME S. BRUNER

VERY soon we shall be treated to the spectacle of two political conventions. On the platforms of the convention halls and in the lobbies and hotel rooms there will be much talk of what the American people want in the way of a President and an Administration from 1944 to 1948. If our politicians have the same capacity for innocent enjoyment as in happier years, we can count on the usual malarkey, the usual bromides, and the usual assertions about the demands of John Citizen. Neither side will have a monopoly on political shenanigans—especially since the election promises to be closer than it has been in sixteen years.

Before the nominating conventions are here, it might be healthy for liberals to sit back and try to figure out just what this election means to the American people, what their votes will be for and what against. The voters are going to get more excited between now and November, but their basic convictions about what they want from the next Administration are not going to change much. Whether it be Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Dewey, or Mr. Darkhorse who occupies the White House next year, the conduct of the Presidency is going to be judged according to standards which have been long a-growing.

No single public-opinion poll can reveal the "convictions" of the electorate. But taking all the polls together and sifting out the trends, we can learn a good deal about people's views. What have the polls been saying?*

First, we know that the American people right now are not making final commitments, are not lining up politically with the same degree of fervor as in 1940 or 1936. And that isn't because the nominees have not yet been chosen. The fact of the matter is that America is awaiting the outcome of impending events—chiefly the invasion of Europe—before it makes up its mind finally on issues or candidates.

The voters will elect a man to do a job. If the war seems safely over in November, it will be a post-war job. If the sledding is still tough, the job will be to win the war. If we are thinking of a war President, we shall vote one way. If it is a post-war President we are electing, the vote will go another way. Obviously, a change is already setting in. If it is checked, if events prove that there is plenty of war ahead, Roosevelt can win handsomely. He is the tried war President. Other matters can

* This analysis is based on the work done during the past year by the Gallup poll, the *Fortune* poll, the National Opinion Research Center, and the Office of Public Opinion Research of Princeton University.

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wait. But if the public has the feeling in November that the Presidency is primarily a post-war job, President Roosevelt will have the hardest fight of his life, assuming the Republicans nominate a strong candidate—and Dewey seems to answer that description.

Does all this add up to the conclusion that the American people are just waiting till the end of the war to reverse the trend of domestic and international progress? Not at all. One mistake to which the left is prone is to assume that a vote for Roosevelt is always a vote for progress. Let us consider what the majority of the country apparently wants—Republicans as well as Democrats—and see whether the victory of a Republican is to be interpreted as a mandate for reaction.

By far the most important post-war problem in the eyes of the people is the matter of jobs and personal security. That doesn't mean that we shall go back on our international commitments. It merely means—as it has always meant—that a job buys the family groceries. Americans want to work in private industry, to be sure; a tamed and fair capitalist system seems to them still the best bet. But they don't want Business with a capital B to be allowed to run rampant. A majority of the voters believe that the government should and can guarantee full employment. The free-enterprise advertisements have not dulled the memory of the Great Depression. Whoever sits in the White House, Democrat or Republican, is committed by our recent history to use the force of the government to prevent or alleviate a depression.

Why, then, does Mr. Roosevelt face such a tough fight in November? Is he not the symbol of our battle against depression? Has he not fought hard and long for the rights of the worker and the little fellow? To the downtrodden the President is still a champion. But not so many feel downtrodden these days. And besides, the glamour of a champion gets slightly tarnished over the years. A man's mistakes always seem to dog him more persistently than his wise deeds. Outweighing gratitude for the President's achievements in combating the depression is a growing weariness with the alleged ineptness of his Administration.

The country is tired of squabbles and the seeming inefficiency of a government which can't make up its mind about what to do on the home front. It dislikes the way strikes have been handled. Americans are not anti-labor; the great majority of them favor unions. But the great majority, thanks largely to the press, also feel that labor is not living up to its "no-strike pledge." And so people want firmer action—or clearer information on the problem. Then there is the bickering with Congress. While the average man simply deplores it, without blaming either side, the voters would certainly welcome a President who got along with Congress. Finally, the confusion in the war agencies is criticized. The compromises and indecision in man-power and price-control policy have goaded many Americans to the point where they would gladly swap our chaotic liberalism for an orderly conservatism.

But, still, the discontent doesn't add up to reaction.

What else do the voters want? They want an extension of social security. In spite of press comments on the report of the National Resources Planning Board, more than three-quarters of the people were at that time and still are heartily in favor of more comprehensive social insurance. It is significant, however, that in March, 1943, when the report was issued, a majority of voters thought action on it should be postponed till the end of the war. And so even though President Roosevelt gave us our first national social-security law, he may not be the man to extend it. But America now takes social security for granted. There won't be any more disdainful talk about "coddling" the people. The voters know social security for what it is—not charity but good, common-sense thrift.

These facts should answer those prophets of doom who foresee a return to the status quo ante. Social security, full employment, progressive taxation, regulation of harmful business practices—these things are no longer matters of controversy. The new President will be committed to them. If he should abandon his commitments, he would have to look for another job in 1948.

One very practical footnote should be added to this survey of American opinion on domestic issues as it affects the election of a new President. In the past the views of industrial workers have not had the same political weight as those of other groups simply because, as a result of indifference or a change of residence, many workers have failed to register and cast their votes. Now a new and powerful force has come on the scene. The C. I. O. Political Action Committee is concentrating its major effort on getting workers to register, in the fairly well-substantiated belief that they are generally inclined to back the leadership of Mr. Roosevelt in matters of social progress. Early results in the primaries are indicating that the committee's campaign is meeting with success. There is just a chance, however, that the campaign might boomerang if the committee should become identified in the public mind as an unofficial arm of the Administration.

Now let us consider the question of internationalism and whether a vote against Roosevelt means a vote for isolationism. The temper of the American people is internationalist and, barring a fiasco at the "peace conference" in which everybody starts grabbing for his share, is likely to remain internationalist. Isolation has availed us little. Some new form of anti-war insurance is wanted. The polls show that an international organization backed by

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force is the policy that three-quarters of us are ready to buy. That is President Roosevelt's policy, and Dewey's April speech shows that he, too, is inclined toward it.

But men are not elected President of the United States for their foreign policy. Though foreign policy may be important to the extent that people feel Mr. Roosevelt has had more experience in international affairs, the votes he gets on that appeal will not be decisive in November. An outspoken isolationist probably couldn't be elected President of the United States in 1944. But two shades of internationalism—Dewey's versus Roosevelt's—won't make much of an issue.

Finally, a word about "political cycles" and the 1944 Presidential vote. No man can be President of the United States for twelve years without being forced into unpopular compromises, without stepping on some toes. Figures on the voting cycle collected by Louis Bean and others show that the tide is swinging against the Democrats. The country is getting tired of old faces, old symbols, old controversies. It is not, however, ready to abandon its old ideals. We still want, and believe that the United States should have, jobs, security, and peace through international cooperation.

The next President of the United States will not be a free agent. He can trim and cut a bit, but he can't go against the wishes of the electorate. If he is a politician, he won't try to. And as Charlie Michelson says, there never has been a President who wasn't a politician.

PIETRO NENNI

THE liberation of Rome has also liberated Pietro Nenni, for many years the secretary of the Italian Socialist Party and later a splendid fighter in the Italian emigration. Nenni went to Spain at the outbreak of the civil war and became one of the most stalwart defenders of the Spanish Republican cause. He journeyed from one European capital to another, begging his Socialist comrades, whether members of governments like Léon Blum or members of the opposition like Clement Attlee, for arms, support, funds. He tried to convince them that in Spain the last chance to escape disgrace and defeat was being offered to the Socialist parties of Europe. But while attempting to inject life into the Second International, he realized that it was dead, and he resigned with a magnificent letter to its Executive Committee. When war broke out in Europe, he devoted his energies to the organization of a Free Italian legion in Paris, but his efforts were sabotaged by the traitors and appeasers at the Quai d'Orsay. He remained in France even after the German occupation, refusing to use a visa obtained for him to permit his entry into the United States. As soon as Mussolini fell, he returned to northern Italy, where he was active in organizing the resistance against the Germans. The Italian people can rejoice that men like Pietro Nenni, in whom intelligence, courage, and honesty are so admirably blended, are now free among them.

In the Wind

THERE ARE IVORY TOWERS in the financial district too. Consider what the New York *Journal of Commerce* had to say about the refusal of 13,500 Brewster workers to be dismissed without warning: "The Brewster Aeronautical Corporation's employees are making the amazing contention that workers in war plants have a vested interest in their jobs. . . . At the close of hostilities, when wholesale shutdowns of war plants will become necessary, these demands could be satisfied only by heavy government spending programs to provide such jobs, making impossible a balancing of the budget and a return to a sound free-enterprise system."

SEE?—This one is from a recent speech by Eugene Holman, vice-president of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, before the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York: "It is fortunate that the large companies exist so that the small operator can get a fair return on his business by selling it."

HUBERT C. REYNOLDS, Negro teacher in Miami, Florida, and president of the Dade County Colored Teachers' Association, whose suit seeking equal pay for Negro teachers was denied in the Miami federal court last March, has been notified that he will not be reappointed next term.

MEMBERS OF THE ABINGTON, Pennsylvania, public library will not be able to borrow "Strange Fruit." The man who buys books for the library has decided that "Colcorton" has a similar theme and is less controversial. As a matter of fact, the themes of the two books are not at all similar.

THE CONNECTICUT ECONOMIC COUNCIL, a most conservative organization, admits frankly in its current *Fortnightly Letter* that it will be impossible to maintain full production after the war if we return to the system of "free enterprise." It wants to return nevertheless.

FESTUNG EUROPA: The curfew at Maldeghem, East Flanders, is strictly enforced. Fire alarms at night are sounded on a bugle, and then the firemen rush to the Town Hall, where they are given permits to be on the streets. . . . A Belgian boy was ordered to report to the Nazi labor service. His uncle, an employee of the local Zoo, suggested a way out: a large chimpanzee had just died, and the boy could wear its skin and take its place until the Gestapo gave up its search for him. The boy jumped at the chance. One day his mother came to the Zoo to visit him, and he showed her some of the tricks he had learned. But alas, while performing on a trapeze he lost his grip and went flying over the bars into a cage of lions. His mother screamed. One of the lions went over to her and said, "Contain yourself, madam. Do you want to give us all away?"

[*The $5 prize for the best item received in May goes to Mrs. M. D. Blankenhorn of New York for the story of the imperturbable London organist in the issue of May 20.*]

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Wallace in Chungking

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

WITH the invasion of Europe being vigorously pushed, the Axis will undoubtedly try to gain a victory somewhere else to bolster the morale of its bewildered peoples. There is but one weak spot today in the United Nations line, one spot where an enemy attack could be successful. That is in China. Everything indicates that this attack will be made, and that General Tojo's threat of an audacious offensive which will cut China in two and knock it out of the war is not mere propaganda designed to counteract the effect of bad news from France. If Japan succeeds, as now seems inevitable, in capturing Changsha and opening China's one north-south railway, its position in China will be nearly impregnable. The Allies will be obliged to make a thousand-mile drive to recapture the railroad before they can use China as a base for direct air or land operations against Japan.

How real the danger is that China will be lost to the Allies and what the Allies can do to prevent it are two subjects I have been discussing during the past few days with several experts who have recently returned from China. The particular position these men occupy makes it impossible to give their names here, but I can assure my readers that they are exceptionally well-acquainted with the Chinese situation and are men of truly independent judgment. I present now the substance of our conversations, with special regard to the problems of political war.

The first question on which I found them in absolute agreement was the dominating influence of Chiang Kai-shek. In spite of all the internal strife in China, about which so much has been written in the United States, Chiang is still the leader of his nation. Any policy which the Allies may adopt, any step they may take, to help China must be based on recognition of the fact that he is the only figure around whom unity is possible. This fact is of the utmost importance, for it is in the measure that unity can be achieved that China can resist the terrific blows which Japan has in store for it.

Geography cannot be changed. The only route to China open at present is over the Himalayas, and because it is the only route its usefulness is limited. Even the opening of the Burma Road would only relieve not solve the problem of supplies. But if it is not in the power of China or the Allies to change geography, it is necessary to change the internal political situation and end the dissension which for years has impeded China's gallant military effort. China can and must so act that its two heroic armies shall no longer be played one against the other but be used fully against the Japanese. Several hundred thousand of the best government troops, instead of being at the front fighting the Japanese, are kept on the border of the Communist-held territory, as though the war were not between China and Japan but between the Communists and the Kuomintang.

The reasons for this division are grave and old. It is natural that the Communists should not forget the massacre at Shanghai, when Chiang Kai-shek's soldiers killed thousands of Communists, even though they were still officially part of the Kuomintang. Nor can they forget their sufferings on the "long march," when they were forced to move from Kuomintang territory in the southwest and to travel 6,000 miles on foot, with all their belongings, fighting most of the way. They lost half their men on that march.

On the other hand, some of the men surrounding Chiang, particularly various generals, cannot easily overcome their deep-rooted distrust of the men in command of the Communist army. Marshal Yen, in an interview published in the New York *Times* on June 5, declared that communism must be wiped out. But he added, "In order to make it impossible for Communists to appeal to the masses, we must improve our administration."

Strong prejudices underlie the estrangement. But the reasons for getting together are more immediate and more potent. The two parties realize that a Japanese victory would destroy them both. The Communists and the Kuomintang need each other. The Communists, whose army consists of several hundred thousand men, and who have perhaps an equal number of poorly clad, undernourished guerrilla troops, know very well that their primary aim—to defeat Japan—cannot be accomplished unless they combine forces with the central government. The Kuomintang, on its part, realizes that the Communist army, though badly armed and inferior in numbers, is located in the north, the strategic sector, and that the influence of the Communists is spreading, probably even into Shantung. Their increasing prestige derives from the fact that although they have received no support in the form of arms or money in the last few years, they have continued to fight Japan with great local success. Moreover, they have understood the advantage of organizing the population into effective guerrilla bands.

The ideological gulf between the Communists and

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Three Cheers for the Underground!

The first week of the invasion has justified our faith in the underground. No one could ever have doubted its devotion to the cause of freedom. Its courage has never faltered through three terrible years of waiting. Long before the advent of D-Day Fortress Europe had become a battlefield where old and young, men and women, workers and bourgeoisie had learned to kill and to die. All that is known. But to persons who have been unwilling to admit the importance of political war and of the great changes that have taken place in the mood of the peoples of Europe it must have been a revelation to see the underground match heroism with discipline, restraining impatience, leashing enthusiasm, adhering strictly to the directions of General Eisenhower. The underground has given the measure of its political maturity and of its high sense of responsibility. It has proved that it is the foundation on which the democratic Europe of tomorrow must be built.

the Kuomintang is not so wide as to prevent an understanding. The Communists have not set up socialism on the land, have not collectivized the farms. On the contrary, they have left the land in the hands of the peasants as private property. They have not displaced landlords, but have directed their chief effort to establishing reasonable taxes and to preventing money-lenders from bleeding the peasants white, as they did before. They have organized small cooperatives to supply the principal needs of the people, but they have not imposed a policy of collectivization. They have brought self-government to the villages, opened schools for the people, eliminated corruption; and they share all the hardships of the population.

If the Chinese Communist Party is not so red as may be thought abroad, neither is the Kuomintang so black as its detractors would pretend. The Kuomintang Party today is composed of various social groups—landowners, military leaders, financiers, industrialists. Its ideology has changed with its composition. But it still contains democratic elements—today in a minority—and even the conservative members realize the importance of land reform. A measure of land reform has been obtained by the creation of a state-owned bank, which grants loans to farmers for land improvement and furnishes funds with which to buy marginal land for division among the landless peasants, to develop irrigation, and for settlement schemes, like those, for example, in Yunnan and Sinkiang.

Finally, the Generalissimo has never forgotten what happened to him in 1936, when he was kidnaped, not by a Communist, but by General Chang Hsueh-liang, whom he had sent to crush the Communists. Since then Chiang has gradually come to the conclusion that he cannot defeat Japan if he opposes the Communists but only if he fights with them against the common enemy.

The basis for an understanding is therefore present. But without the friendly intervention of a third party the process of unification may take longer than the interest of the war permits. No foreign power is held in greater esteem in China than the United States. And no man, perhaps, among Americans is more trusted than Vice-President Wallace, who is viewed as a staunch opponent of imperialistic exploitation. When I was in Mexico, I saw how Henry Wallace had won the confidence of the peoples of Latin America. The same belief in the sincerity of his convictions prevails in China, according to the authorities with whom I have talked.

Chiang Kai-shek has repeatedly stated that the period of "tutelage" is coming to an end, and that a democratic constitution, under which the Kuomintang Party will not enjoy special privileges, will be introduced after the war. If Vice-President Wallace could convince his Chinese friends that such a step, taken now instead of after the war, would be the best proof of the central government's willingness to cooperate, the end of the crisis would be assured. As a practical measure, Chiang Kai-shek could set up a kind of council which would be specially intrusted with the conduct of the war, and give the Communists representation on it.

The Chinese press has indicated what great hopes the country places in Wallace's visit. But even the best-intentioned negotiator cannot achieve his ends if he arrives with empty hands. China needs, immediately, something more than sympathy, good-will, and beautiful words. If geographic factors and the lack of a large port prevent the Allies from sending a great quantity of war materials into China, at least a few thousand planes can be provided. Their receipt would tremendously increase the army's ability to resist the invader and to an equal degree raise the morale of the Chinese people.

On the other subject of our conversations—how great the danger is that Japan will actually knock China out of the war—I did not find the same unanimity of opinion. Some of the people with whom I spoke were frankly pessimistic. Not that they feared that China could be seduced by Japanese diplomacy to make a separate peace. There has been a good deal of talk lately about the "Cliveden set" of Chungking, and appeasers may in fact be active there, as they are in almost every Allied capital, but they can never force a capitulation. No one, not even Chiang Kai-shek, whose prestige is so great, could survive politically a deal with Tokyo. Nor would appeasement serve the interests of big business within the Kuomintang. A peace with Japan would deprive them of the money they expect to make out of the industrialization of their country.

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I found disagreement only upon the question of whether the Chinese will be able to carry out their resolve to fight Japan to the bitter end. The final impression I got is that it is not only possible but certain that they will continue to fight even if Japan seizes the Hongkong-Canton railroad, the only important line at the service of the Chinese today. The loss of this railroad would be a terrible blow of course. It would mean that Japan could "bring Manchuria to Canton"; that is to say, it could bring the war resources of Manchuria—coal, steel, iron—to the battle front for a smashing, all-out drive into China. "It could mean," some of my informants told me, "the loss of Chungking. We might even witness the creation of a Chinese 'government in exile' somewhere in a remote part of China; but even then it would not mean that China would give up."

Much will depend upon the ability of the United States and its distinguished emissary to unify the resistance and furnish substantial aid. The fate of China must be of the greatest concern to all the United Nations. Events in China in the coming years will influence the history of the world. I was deeply impressed to hear China praised with so much enthusiasm by people who have no concern with the artificialities of propaganda. "A human society living in material poverty but in mental freedom"—so one of my friends characterized China. If China had complete confidence in the sincerity of the great powers, if it did not have the demoralizing example of India at its very door, it would think less of increasing its military strength after the war and more of serving the peace.

Henry Wallace in Chungking will face one of the great tests of his career. If he can help China to emerge from its present crisis, he will have rendered an invaluable service to the United Nations.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THE employment of foreign workers in Germany is organized in great detail. To enumerate the many classes into which they are divided and to define them precisely would require considerable research. But a new group, which has very recently come to notice, deserves some comment. An announcement published in Hanover in the middle of May refers to them as "foreign workers in brown uniforms" and states that a large number of them "were recently set to work in the heavily damaged industrial districts and along the North Sea coast." They are organized in battalions according to nationality. The battalion in Hanover, for instance, is composed entirely of Frenchmen; there are also Belgian, Dutch, Polish, and Czech formations. Each battalion contains a certain number of men of every trade—bricklayers, carpenters, glaziers, painters, unskilled laborers. The public's attention is called to the fact that they are "volunteers" and that the Supreme Army Command has made special rules for them. "The foreign workers in brown uniform are not subject to the rules which apply, for example, to prisoners of war. They may move about freely in the town, use the trains and buses, and visit the restaurants and movies."

The impression is strong that these brown-uniformed battalions, which are treated in a measure as an aristocracy among the "foreign workers," are genuine volunteers. And although it is not explicitly stated, it appears that they are an "élite" slave group formed as a counterweight to the ordinary foreign slaves, just as the famous Elite Guard of the S. S. was created as a counterweight to the riffraff guard of the S. A.

The *Deutsches Aerzteblatt,* organ of German physicians, published the following order at the beginning of May:

> All kinds of medical equipment must be saved from possible destruction by air raids. Therefore physicians are herewith ordered to carry into the nearest air-raid cellar every evening all pieces that can be moved, such as microscopes, surgical instruments, syringes, sterilizing apparatus, and typewriters.

The order also declared that no physician may leave his home town without permission. Physicians whose offices are destroyed must apply for instructions as to where to move. All physicians must wear arm bands, and all doctor's offices must be marked with a Red Cross flag.

The average German suffers more from the scarcity of soap than from the lack of anything else. Not only is the ration so small that it amounts to practically nothing, but what soap is obtainable is of unbelievably poor quality—the fat has been largely replaced by clay. All the more depressing, therefore, was a laconic decree made public by the official news agency on May 26:

> The Reich Commissioner for the chemical industry has ordered that in the future shoe polish, colored or colorless, can be bought only on surrender of the current soap coupon.

Breslau is a city of half a million people. Situated in the most eastern part of the Reich, it is one of the few cities which have so far been spared an air raid. On May 18, however, the following public notice appeared:

> The Breslau telephone exchanges are overburdened. During the busiest hours they cannot meet the demands on them. From now on, therefore, a certain number of telephones will be discontinued, in turn, during the busy hours of the day. Subscribers cannot be informed in advance of the days and hours of the interruption.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Many and the Few

FAITH, REASON, AND CIVILIZATION: AN ESSAY IN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS. By Harold J. Laski. The Viking Press. $2.50.

LASKI, in this new volume, which is certainly not his best, is looking for a scheme of values adequate for the moral reorientation of modern man. The book is disappointing, primarily, because it lacks consistency. The basic assumption upon which the modern system of values is to rest is variously defined.

In one of the early chapters Laski defines it this way: "If we are to build anew a scheme of values in society . . . we must begin with the assumption that the sole method open to mankind by which we can improve his lot is an increasing mastery of nature." Somewhat later in the volume he insists that "the only working assumption upon which we can proceed . . . is that where the drive of some given society is to make its material circumstances favorable to mass well-being, the inner life of its citizens will be shaped toward the realization of happiness." The two propositions are not necessarily incompatible, but the relation between the two is not well thought out. Furthermore, both propositions are questionable. The idea that the mastery of nature is the basis of the good life is not new. It is as old as the eighteenth century at least; and a civilization which is destroying itself by the same technical instruments by which it mastered nature will certainly be forced to question the adequacy of such a basic assumption. The second proposition is even more dubious; it leaves out of account the fact that totalitarian societies might well be devoted to "mass well-being" and yet destroy all the richer values of existence. Mr. Laski thinks his goal would satisfy all but the few "who find fulfilment in that pursuit of the unworldly end which may drive them to poverty or exile or prison or even death."

On the whole, those who are driven to prison or death in a society are not consciously seeking an unworldly end but are devoted to some high end of life which a given society finds incompatible with its particular order. We would, I think, all grant that a society ought to seek the well-being of all its members, but Mr. Laski has given little thought to the tension which must exist between the individual and the community, even if the community achieved ten times as much social justice as we now have.

These preliminary definitions of basic assumptions do not, however, suggest Laski's real thesis, which is that Russia has given us the fundamental reorientation of values. He defines this reorientation variously. On one occasion he calls it the "revision of that attitude which from the dawn of recorded history has looked with contempt upon manual labor." In another case he declares that the "Russian idea is nothing so much as a revival of the faith of the men of Ionia in the sixth century before Christ, that men are saved by the chance of that abundance which comes from the mastery over nature." Again, he thinks that "the central idea of the Russian Revolution [is] that we must as a society plan production for community consumption." Sometimes he goes so far as to assert that "wherever the idea of the Russian Revolution has taken hold it has bred in its exponents a yearning for spiritual salvation; and it is out of that yearning that there is at least the hope that we may recover a philosophy of values."

These various assertions about the Russian Revolution may not all be incompatible, but Laski does not give us a clear statement of the hierarchy of values which he finds in the revolution. He is really contending for the adequacy of a Marxist interpretation of life, history, and our social possibilities. Why he associates this so closely with Russia is difficult to understand, particularly since he is no fellow-traveler spiritually bound to Russia. Russia is of course the great exemplar in history of an accomplished proletarian revolution; politically we shall undoubtedly learn much from it. But we shall be better able to learn our lesson if we do not make Russia the idol of the cause of social revolution.

When confronted with some of the aberrations of Russian politics, Laski responds with curious apologies. He compares the cruelties of the Russian regime with the rudeness of early Christians. He explains the dictatorship as follows: "No one who analyzes the Soviet experiment honestly can look upon its acceptance of a proletarian dictatorship as a permanent feature of the effort they are making. For, first of all, the sheer anarchy of the situation they inherited required a strong government, etc." Of course. No intelligent person would accuse communism of desiring a permanent dictatorship. Communism believes—and, I am convinced, honestly believes—in the provisional character of the dictatorship and in the ultimate "withering away of the state." The important question concerns not the intention of Communist idealists but the validity of the idea that the necessity of political coercion, of the state in short, will disappear on the other side of the revolution. Every fact of history refutes this utopian hope.

Marxism is undoubtedly a perennial resource for the solution of the political and social problems of our era. But it can be the better guide in social politics if we discount its effort to become a total and adequate world view, solving all problems of human existence. It is precisely because the relativities of Russian politics have refuted some of the extravagant overtones of Marxist religious hopes that we must look at Russia critically as well as sympathetically if we are to salvage what is true in Marxist economic thought from what is false in its utopianism.

Nothing but confusion can result from the lyrical identification of Russia with the ideal scheme of values which Mr. Laski would project. He declares, for instance, that "Russian heroism in the two years of struggle against Hitlerism has convinced the common man all over the world that there was a magic in the Revolution of 1917 somehow adaptable to his own concerns." There is a great deal of heroism in this war. The Russian heroism has been superb.

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But if we are to judge the quality of a faith by the courage with which it is defended what are we to say of the faith which young Nazis are now defending with desperate courage?

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Image of America

AMERICA. By Stephen Vincent Benét. Farrar and Rinehart. $1.50

THERE might have been every reason to look with suspicion on a tract written by even a good poet in response to an invitation by an official body to produce a short volume that would explain America, its history and its essence, to foreigners. But the OWI is not the Gestapo, and the late Stephen Vincent Benét was both a poet and an honest man. It needed a poet to compress the great miscellaneous prose facts of our history into their poetic incidence and meaning. It needed a candid intelligence to communicate our actual and felt virtues as a people without blinking our failures and our follies. The job could scarcely have been better done. It is so well done that one feels its excellence can better be appreciated by Americans themselves, for whom these succinct pages will be weighted with meaning and emotions they cannot have for foreigners who may be hearing of Antietam for the first time. To them the founding of the colonies, the building of the West, the mechanical mastery of a continent, the growth and occasional backslidings of freedom as these took place on American soil—all these things as here recounted must seem more like a catalogue than a succession of poetic images of the greatest themes in our national consciousness.

Perhaps, however, even foreigners, uninformed as to the facts of our history would feel the imaginative force of them as they appear in this brief volume. They would, one suspects, feel at once the passionate love of the writer for his country and his twin sense of its ideals and its lapses.

"It is," writes the author of this 112-page summary, "a queer country in some ways. It is young among the countries of the world. But its system of government has endured for over a century and a half, flexible to changed conditions but without material change. The thirty-second President of the United States now sits in the White House; the seventy-eighth Congress of the United States is in session. They were put there by the will of the people. . . . Always, since the first, American people have had a chance to use their own judgment, make their own mistakes, correct them and go ahead. And the people does not mean a class or a caste or a specially appointed set of men."

This is the statement of an ideal rather than of an unvarnished fact, and Mr. Benét knew it and in his book says so. He does not deny the corruptions that have occurred in our politics, the exploitations in the robber-baron era, the materialism in our lives. He also points out that no one has said this sort of thing more strongly than certain great American writers, like Emerson, say, or Thoreau.

But there is an ideal not defeated by its failures, an aspiration that first began to be embodied at Plymouth Rock and Jamestown. The record is one toward freedom and toward equality. Its chapters are the Revolution, the Constitution, the exploring and settling of the West, the deepening quarrel between the two economies of North and South, and the moral issues that their differences eventually focused. There is the chapter of the Civil War, and the image, almost, of a people's moral mission in Abraham Lincoln. There is the age of industrial expansion, "the age of bronze and lead." There is the "America we know." There were the New Freedom and the New Deal. There is the war for freedom and the struggle for it at home. There is a passionately focused image of what we have been, what we are, what, as a people, we hope to be. To read this little book is to know America better because a rapt but intelligent poet has used his eyes.

IRWIN EDMAN

Two Books, Three Saints

THE EAGLE AND THE DOVE. By V. Sackville-West. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

CARMELITE AND POET: A FRAMED PORTRAIT OF ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS. By Robert Sencourt. The Macmillan Company. $3.

EVER since the Enlightenment the saints have been cast into outer darkness. Sanctity is not an attribute in which the twentieth century, by and large, has any great interest. "In our time," Yeats quotes Thomas Mann as saying, "the destiny of man presents its meaning in political terms." Politicians, economists, warriors, athletes, actors, whether film or legitimate, even artists—to these we pay some attention. Not to saints; why should we? By us, if I may quote the conversation of an irreverent friend, by us gives no God.

Still, there are signs and portents which might indicate that skepticism is reaching that vanishing point wherein it is skeptical even of itself. We have, for instance, the rather vulgar remark that there are no atheists in fox holes. We have so devout a materialist as Earl Browder breaking down enough to admit, if somewhat archly, that history has many secrets locked in her bosom. We have Somerset Maugham writing plays and stories about saints and mystics as they seem to him. We have the editors of the *Partisan Review* professing a little worry over a religious trend among the literati. We have Professor Einstein acknowledging that one of the most beautiful things man can experience is the mysterious, and that it is, in fact, the true source of all science and all art. All this might not be so regressive as some people seem to think; it might be the beginning, rather than the failure, of nerve. Where has rationalism got us, halfway, or nearly, through the twentieth century? Hatred, evil, destruction, death assail us from every side; perhaps we need to start developing superrational faculties if we expect to progress toward goodness, life, creation, and love. In other words, toward God.

For those who are interested, as well as those who ought to be, here are three saints in two books, unhappily both a little dry, a little outside their subjects, though the Sackville-West prose is considerably better than the Sencourt. To begin with the saint nearest us in time, we have Thérèse of Lisieux, 1873-97. No sinner, I suppose, should sneer at any saint—though we should also bear in mind that even

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saints can be sinners at times. But what the life of Thérèse leads us to feel, a little uneasily, is that perhaps, as with governments, societies get the kind of saints they deserve, and if this is the best the French bourgeoisie of the nineteenth century could produce, no wonder France fell, God help us all, and so on. Writing about her, Miss Sackville-West seems, at times, a little embarrassed, more than willing to change the subject and talk about someone more lively and more interesting. She admits that the little way of the little flower can be very exasperating to many temperaments —"treacly dulcification" is not a sympathetic phrase. The ardors of the saints fulfil themselves in many ways; those of Thérèse led her to become not so much the passionate bride of Christ—though her language on this point is at times a little shocking—as His little *Ladies' Home Journal* housewife. Let those who think this an easy road to saint-hood try it sometime; they will not covet her praise.

Teresa of Avila, the eagle of the Sackville-West title, was a character more fiery and rugged. This high-born Spanish lady (1515-1582) was also more than a little high-handed; "a contumacious gadabout female," her enemies called her. She danced before her nuns in the evening to the music of the castanets, hated the Andalusians—it is a consolation, perhaps ignoble, to realize that saints can hate—and walked by the banks of the river telling God the reason He had so few friends was because He treated them so badly. "Deliver me from sullen saints," she said; she did not seem to object to angry ones. She had the reformer's austerity and zeal and, what is rare in combination with those qualities, the wholesome, practical, cleansing common sense that enabled her to take on politicians and intriguers and mop them up. There was something in her of the bounce and vigor that we see, in our time, in a Dorothy Thompson or an Eleanor Roosevelt; she also had what they have not—the mystic vision and a superior literary style.

St. John of the Cross, whom Mr. Sencourt mentions throughout his book as Fray Juan, was a younger contemporary of Teresa of Avila, whose friendship he enjoyed and whose tribulations he shared. Like her a reformer and organizer, he had something less than her knack in rough-and-tumble battles with the politicians, and they got him in the end, though their victories were not overwhelming. Mr. Sencourt's book about him is loving, long, and labored: there is a good deal of repetition in it, and it is most interesting when the saint is quoted directly. The quotations, moreover, are generous, and several of the poems are given in the original Spanish. In interpreting the spiritual ideas of St. John of the Cross Mr. Sencourt is painstaking and elaborate: what is needed, beyond what is there, is the sudden flash of illumination, the quick and radiant intuitive phrase; but that is not Mr. Sencourt's way. He mentions so much that it is a little curious, in the chapter entitled What English Literature Explains, to find no mention of T. S. Eliot and the Four Quartets, which are so much beholden to the writings of Fray Juan.

Chesterton's Life of St. Francis, Shaw's drama of St. Joan—either of these books conveys more of the sense of the poetry of saintliness than do the two books at hand. Nevertheless, in spite of their rather prosy ways, both books do more than convey interesting and curious information. They help to correct our notions about the mystic character, our prejudice to the effect that mystics and saints are rapt and moony creatures, unable to distinguish between their elbow and third base. There was nothing the matter with the brains of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, nothing the matter with their eyes and ears, their nerves and hearts. If they learned to transcend the use of their senses, their senses were unusually bright to begin with. Diana Trilling, writing recently in *The Nation* apropos Mr. Maugham's latest interests, observes that "mysticism is bound to be inviting to the person who is afraid of the deep emotions." This, I hope, refers to those who admire mystics from a safe distance, not to the mystics themselves. If their testimony can be believed, the emotions of both St. John of the Cross and St. Teresa were literally terrific. They had intellect and intuition; they were gay, they were vital; they knew the glory of creation and the creator; and of which of us can this much be said?

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

"Whoever honestly strives
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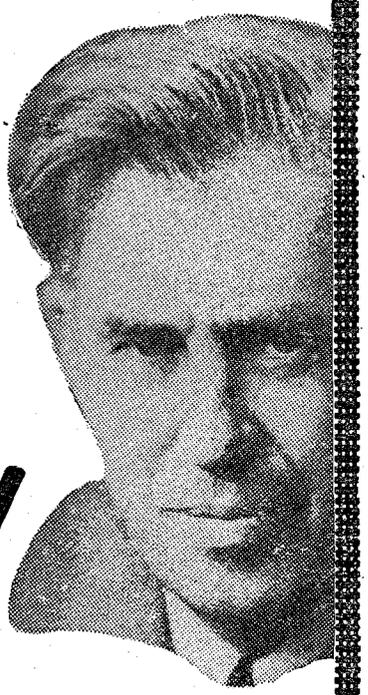

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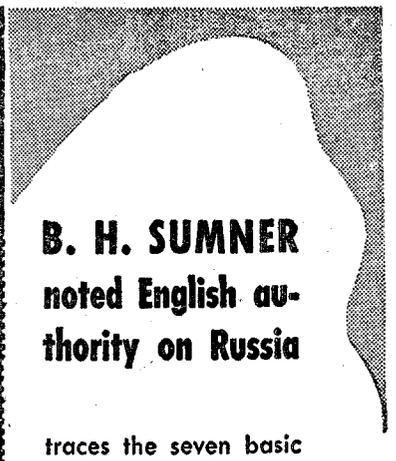

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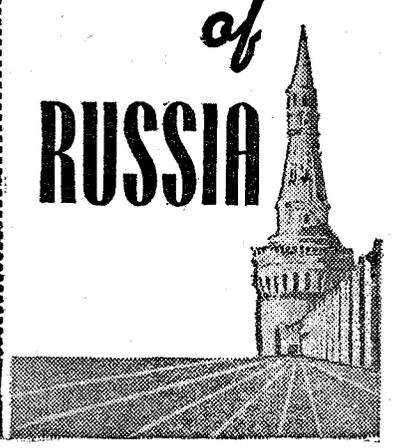

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stance, he branded as wrong the common belief that history is a true mirror of sense and reason, of progress and justice. If there is a relation of cause and effect in the process of history, he declared, this causality usually differs from that other causality which is a post-festum product of the historian's own wishful thinking.

Now, in the midst of our war against the revolutionaries of nihilism, an exiled Central European scholar, in a book of seven hundred pages, challenges the tenets of Lessing without mentioning his name. Kahler visualizes history as the development of *homo sapiens*, as orderly and consistent evolution toward the Kingdom of Man. If this were not so, history would be "nothing but an incoherent mass of rising and falling powers, growing and dying people and individuals." He warns: "Eternity has no history, and neither has chaos."

The novelty of his approach to history lies in his attempt to write it as the spiritual biography of man, not of men—just as anthropologists have traced man's development from the primate's rough structure to the complicated physique of this generation. He reinterprets history by retelling it from the age of primitive man to the outbreak of the Second World War. Contrary to certain modern philosophers, he believes in the unity of mankind and hence in the unity of history. According to this view, before the rise of the Jewish-Christian concept of man as the image of God, the creator of the universe, there existed no history, but merely a number of chronicles of different tribes. History thus begins with the development of the Jewish-Christian idea of the common origin of all men from the same ancestor and of a common God-given destiny of all men, to use Kahler's terminology, a concept rejected by neo-paganism. The fact that in the era preceding the Renaissance the subject matter of history was not man as a secular entity but the development of the human soul, and that from the Renaissance on, when man discarded religion, the subject matter of history became human reason, or the economic condition of man, does not invalidate the general trend. Only in the pessimistic nineteenth century, when the philosophers decided that man had become neither better nor happier, was the idea of the unity and community of mankind and with it the idea of human development shaken. Kahler strongly resents thinkers like Nietzsche or Spengler who "denied the fundamental values of our civilization: love and brotherhood among men," especially Spengler, who "split human history into isolated cultures rising senselessly and fading away into nothingness."

For Kahler history is "not an accidental conglomerate of events, not a meaningless come-and-go of forces, not the deliberate accomplishment of individuals, but a connected whole, the unified, consistent development of an organic being that is man." And we must defend the view that history is a unity moving, despite all setbacks, in the direction of community and fraternity against fascist nihilism, which recognizes no bonds except those the fascists produce or break, as it pleases them.

This well-written and thoughtful book, which guides the reader through all the "isms" of the past two thousand years, ends with a warning that without human community and fraternity we are lost, and that "man needs goodness as he needs his daily bread." ALFRED WERNER

Peace Plan

BEYOND VICTORY. By Jerry Voorhis. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

REPRESENTATIVE VOORHIS has patterned his book upon the very sensible idea that the way to discuss lasting peace is first to consider the causes of war in modern society and then to propose steps necessary to get rid of those causes.

In presenting the causes of war he has given most of his attention to the climate of opinion which makes war possible. He achieves a reasonable and on the whole persuasive balance between the economic factors that generate the conditions under which war is likely to occur and the exploitation of those factors by propaganda that whips men up into a mood to fight. His early chapter headings outline the argument: Great Lies; Fear; Religion of the State; Possessions; Young Men Without Hope.

But he returns constantly to the economic maladjustments which must exist before a modern nation is likely to go to war, and the essence of his peace plan is to raise the standard of living throughout the world. His proposals are liberal rather than radical, and most of them should appeal to any reasonable reader who is not too deeply afraid of change. Yet these proposals, modest as they seem against the magnitude and urgency of the problem, provide a discouraging measure of the distance the United States must travel in political thinking before we are ready for full participation in a world order where there can be no more war.

The most striking suggestion, and the most fundamental, is that each nation should guarantee to maintain for its people purchasing power sufficient to absorb all the goods and services it can produce or receive by exchange with other nations. Something of the kind was approved in vague and general terms at the recent conference of the International Labor Office, but Mr. Voorhis makes it specific with an interesting and frankly unorthodox proposal for the handling of money and credit.

In brief, he urges that the United States government, instead of paying interest for money borrowed from banks, should itself create each year enough additional money or credit to pay for that year's increase in gross national product. Almost as an afterthought he suggests that the Treasury might retire money or credit from circulation to avoid inflation in any year when there was a decrease in gross national product, but obviously he believes that if his proposal were adopted, the lean years would be few and far between.

As concomitants of this idea, the author recommends drastic changes in the Federal Reserve System, permanent abolition of the gold standard, and a compulsory balancing of international trade in terms of goods rather than money. He also devotes considerable attention to the evils of monopoly and cartel arrangements.

The principal weakness of the book is that it covers much too much ground to explore thoroughly all the ideas it presents or to answer many of the fairly obvious objections which might be raised to them. Many more subjects are discussed than can even be mentioned in a review of this length.

Nevertheless, Mr. Voorhis has at least partially supplied

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the need for a critique of world problems which is uninfluenced by preconceived ideas, either conservative or radical. His approach has a fresh quality which comes from willingness to look at the world we live in without fear of any change that might bring improvement, and also without commitment to any plan of change based upon a rigid political or economic formula.

If it were possible to hope that "Beyond Victory" will be widely read and its proposals considered without prejudice by the general public and political and business leaders, the prospects for great social gains immediately following this war would seem much brighter than they do at present. But the author himself recognizes, for example, that monopolies and cartels have been strengthened rather than weakened by the war, and the optimism of his final chapter seems to rest more upon faith than conviction.

At the same time the book contains the basis for a fighting liberal program which is bound to make headway sooner or later, because the economic potentialities of the twentieth century have so clearly outgrown existing institutions. Perhaps more people are ready to recognize that fact than one would guess from the present political campaign. It is certainly encouraging to find a member of Congress who is willing to state it publicly in an election year.

CHARLES E. NOYES

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FILMS

WHEN Roger Touhy and his six colleagues broke out of Stateville Penitentiary they managed it, so far as I can make out by the old papers, without outside help. The greenness fewness, and carelessness of the guards —their personnel changed and diminished by the war—seem to have been responsible. In "Roger Touhy, Gangster" the mob does get outside help, and it is not indicated that the guards were green, few, or careless. Again, in fact the fugitives knocked over an armored car for $20,000 for a hideout nest egg. In the film no such holdup occurs, and I kept wondering what they were living on. In fact they got draft cards, through a series of holdups, which roughly fitted their descriptions. In the film they get draft cards by holdups, but nothing is done about the effort of the men, which must have been awful, comic, and cinematically promising, to single out victims who bore them a reasonable resemblance. In fact they comforted themselves abundantly with women and liquor. In the film there are no women around their hideouts and most of them stay sober as judges. In fact they lived in such excruciating claustrophobia, plus agoraphobia, plus mutual mistrust, plus general terror and anxiety, that as time wore on they became all but incapable of swallowing solid food; they seem to have lived largely on whiskey and coffee. In the film you get only the mildest idea of this physical and psychic misery. Ten to fifteen years ago the makers of such a film would have had a natural, vigorous feeling for the value of such detail. They would never have allowed it to be by-passed—or, if this or that in it seemed libelous or censorable, they would have invented some tougher equivalent which was not. "Touhy" has some fairly exciting and intelligent things in it, and anyone who loves the best of the old gangster films will get some nostalgic pleasure out of it; but it is a long way short even of the ordinary ones in immediacy, drive, tension, and imagination.

Seeing the screen version of "The Hairy Ape" I wonder whether it was really such a very good play in the first place. In any case it is hardly worth seeing as it stands here. The obsessed stoker is sincerely played by William Bendix, but Bendix is not a man to inspire the sort of fear or the sort of pity that is needed; and the character, robbed of all biological-political meaning and of the best of his talk, and glossed over with sub-comedy, could inspire neither emotion even if Bendix could. Susan Hayward, as the loathsome girl who makes him trouble, is more interesting. She is of the wrong social wave length to carry this particular role; but there are roles, not yet invented so far as I know, in which she could do a paralyzingly good job on one important kind of vivacious American woman. Who would be left in the audience is harder to imagine.

JAMES AGEE

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RECORDS

COLUMBIA has managed to produce an impressive list for June. To begin with it has issued a new set (547; $3.50) of Haydn's Symphony No. 103 ("Drumroll"). This is one of the last group of symphonies that Haydn composed for his London visits, and one of the finest of the lot—with the spontaneity and richness of invention, the mischievous surprises, the breathtaking audacities of the Haydn process operating at incandescence. As for the performance, the English companies make mistakes (the Pro Arte Quartet performances of Haydn and Mozart, the Busch Quartet performances of Beethoven), and this is one of them. Heward's performance of the symphony with the Hallé Orchestra may be better than the Golschmann-St. Louis Symphony version that has been available until now; but it is no better than a performance of a first-rate work by a considerably less than first-rate musician can be. Heward starts without any feeling for right tempo; and he continues with a fondness for coy retardations. The recorded sound of the performance is good, except that the treble is not strong enough for the bass. And the surfaces of my copy are a little gritty.

Then there is a set (X-241; $2.50) of Debussy's "En blanc et noir," three pieces for two pianos. Constant Lambert includes them among the late works that he ranks with the "Images" for orchestra as the culmination of Debussy's style. He certainly is right about the "Images" as examples of Debussy's fully developed orchestral style: each new hearing of "Rondes de printemps" (which Victor issued a few months ago) leaves me newly overwhelmed by it and newly convinced that it is one of the most wonderful of Debussy's achievements. And Lambert may be right about the two-piano caprices as examples of the fully developed piano style: the style itself is fascinating at once; and further hearing may increase and widen the fascination—though I imagine only for the person with a taste for Debussy's piano music. The performance by Bartlett and Robertson seems good; its recorded sound is lifelike, but unresonant, steely at times, and rattly at others; and the surfaces of my copy are very noisy.

On a single disc (71577-D; $1) are Zerlina's arias *Batti, batti* and *Vedrai, carino* from Mozart's "Don Giovanni" —lovely music, beautifully sung by Bidu Sayao with an orchestra conducted by Leinsdorf. And on another (71582-D; $1) is a Sonata in E minor for violin and figured bass by Bach that I don't recall hearing before (it is identified as Peters Series 3, Vol. VII, No. 2), with a highly impressive first movement, but with subsequent movements which I find uninteresting. The violinist of the performance is Busch, whose playing is in every way superb; and Artur Balsam at the piano makes it a fine ensemble performance (though my ear tells me what is hard to believe—that several of Balsam's bass-notes in the opening *Allegro* are not in time with the violin). The recorded sound of voice

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and violin on these two single discs is a little brash; but the surfaces of my copies are admirably quiet.

Together with these new releases Columbia features not one but two of its older recordings. One is Franck's Symphony performed by Beecham with the London Philharmonic (Set 479; $5.50); and the work being as inflated in feeling and structure as it is, I like the simplicity and directness of Beecham's statement of it, the refinement of its recorded sound, preferring them to Monteux's more expansive treatment of the music, which is recorded with more expansive gorgeousness of sound in the Victor set (surfaces in my copy are gritty and noisy). The other (Set X-115; $2.50) is part of the delightful Offenbach music used in Massine's ballet "Gaité parisienne," which is performed well enough by the London Philharmonic under Kurtz, and recorded with a brilliance that is made brash and noisy at times by reverberance (surfaces are good).

Answering the question whether the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe was worth seeing, Mr. Denby ended by saying: "And of course no dance-lover will want to miss seeing Danilova, Youskevitch, or Franklin." One goes to the ballet, that is, to see great dancers. True, one goes also to see fine ballets; but even then one goes to see them performed by great dancers. One went to the Ballet Theater, then, to see Markova, only to discover that she was not dancing—which meant that one saw "Les Sylphides," but with Gollner and with Chase dancing the Prelude, or "Romeo and Juliet," but with Kaye's Juliet. Also there were evenings when Markova did appear but was unmistakably in less than her best form—which of course was still quite wonderful. But the last week she gave several memorable performances, of which I saw only one—the last Juliet, in which there were not merely the flashing miracles of movement and motionless pose in space but expressive gesture and attitude that left no doubt that one was watching not only the greatest dancer but the greatest dramatic artist there is to see on the stage today. And the entire company rose to the occasion with an incandescent performance of the work—one in which everything fitted together with timing and placing and emphasis that produced extraordinary clarity and coherence in the progression of movement, and in which this progression seemed to flow out of the similarly clear and coherent progression of the music as it was conducted by Beecham.

No dance-lover, it seems to me, would want to miss seeing Massine in "The Three-Cornered Hat" and "Capriccio espagnol"—for the unique gifts of style and wit that he has as a dancer, and the qualities that he has through long exercise of these gifts: the authority and power of presence and projection that make him a great stage personality. In these two ballets one sees some of his best work not only as a dancer but as a choreographer; and this time I noticed how much they have in common: the marvelous finale of "Capriccio" might be a new and more brilliant climax for "The Three-Cornered Hat." Its brilliance is diminished somewhat nowadays by the dancing of Romanoff in the part that was done first by Eglevsky and later by Lazovsky.

There is no space in which to discuss the other fine performances and ballets; but I can get in my opinion that the dancing of Argentinita and her associates requires a smaller auditorium than the Metropolitan, and that its style does not lend itself to the expressive purposes of a choreographic scenario. That would be my comment on "El Amor brujo."

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

A Few Suggestions

Dear Sirs: I have read with the greatest interest the article by J. Alvarez del Vayo entitled Mexico's War-time Boom which appeared in *The Nation* of May 27. This will be of very real interest to those who genuinely care about being good neighbors with our nearest Latin American neighbor.

As one who shares Mr. del Vayo's views about the importance of maintaining and extending the cordial relationship which has been developed in recent years between our countries, I should like to make the following suggestions based on my own experiences in Mexico and a fairly intimate knowledge of the views of many Americans, particularly men engaged in business enterprises:

1. Mexico is the natural playground for the United States. In my judgment the tourist trade could produce for Mexico a revenue of between $100,000,000 and $200,000,000 annually. It does not produce such a revenue because tourists coming to the country cannot find adequate accommodations or proper food. A tourist who has had experience with dysentery in Mexico is not likely to repeat a "pleasure trip" there, however enchanting the country may be. Certainly it should be possible for the authorities to take the steps which would remedy this situation. It has been done in other countries. It can be done in Mexico.

2. Mexico is a natural replacement market for notions which formerly were manufactured by Japan and Germany. It has failed to become such a replacement market owing primarily, I believe, to the lack of uniformity in manufacture. By this I mean that an American client may place an order for notions based on a sample submitted; the finished product, however, very often is so far afield that it becomes embarrassing to the purchaser. This, too, is a matter which with a little application may be adjusted to the benefit of Mexican industry and the American market.

3. There is another matter which is delicate but which ought to be faced frankly. If there is to be confidence in our Mexican neighbor, then it is absolutely indispensable that the present financial corruption prevalent in the country should be eliminated. As long as the current situation exists, the distrust which it engenders will act as a very strong deterring factor in the development of economic relations. This is a problem which many countries have faced and successfully solved. It is a problem which the Mexican government must face and solve if it wishes to spur the development of the country.

4. In line with this there is a final suggestion, and that is that a means be found to enforce the income-tax laws of the country. At the present time the statutes remain on the books and the taxes in the pockets of the rich. What is involved here is really even more fundamental than providing the necessary revenue. What is involved is establishing the authority of the government in a fashion which will make for stability at home and confidence abroad.

WILLIAM ROSENBLATT

New York, June 1

Poland and Russia

Dear Sirs: It hardly reflects objective liberal journalism, let alone fair play, to publish such an article as that in *The Nation* of May 20 by Eric Estorick, entitled Polish American Politics. In a typical Stalinist amalgam, this author attempts to smear the coming Buffalo meeting of the Polish American Congress by devoting three-fourths of his article to a stale exposure of Ignacy Matuszewski, the fascist columnist of the New York daily *Nowy Swiat,* whose views in regard to Russian expansionism happen to coincide with those of Poles of all political factions except Stalinist *studziks* like Leo Krzycki, Professor Lange, and the phony Union of Polish Patriots.

The influence of M. F. Wegrzynek, publisher of *Nowy Swiat,* is exaggerated to an extent that will amuse Polish American readers. In reality Wegrzynek and the other Polish publishers are about as chummy as Colonel McCormick and Marshall Field. But on the question of the acceptance of the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop line as a future boundary between Poland and the Soviet Union there can only be one honest Polish opinion. Ten Soviet divisions would have to be permanently garrisoned in Warsaw to protect any Polish government which would accept Stalin's present demands.

Strong criticism can be made against the Polish government in London for not calling for the creation of a free United States of Europe with a socialist economy such as must some day inevitably be established. However, such a free Continental federation of states is the last thing desired by Churchill or Roosevelt, Stalin or the Pope. Nor, in a country where every new "liberal" or "labor" party indorses the capitalist system and its imperialist wars, can it be expected that the petit-bourgeois leaders of Polish American organizations will advocate anything approaching the manifesto of Polish exiles away back in 1836, which won the praise of both Karl Marx and Robert Owen for its forthright avowal of the principles of the French Revolution and its far-sighted predictions that "only through the complete abolition of all class privileges and the establishment of real equality for all the people of whatever race or religion" would there be any hope for the future not only of Poland but of Europe itself.

JOHN SWITALSKI

Chicago, May 24

[Reports of the speeches delivered and the resolutions passed at the recent Buffalo convention of the American Polish Congress appear to have fully borne out Mr. Estorick's analysis. According to the report in the New York *Times,* among the new vice-presidents elected were Maximilian Wegrzynek, publisher of *Nowy Swiat,* and Frank Januszewski, publisher of the Detroit *Polish Daily News.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Unity—but Not for Reaction

Dear Sirs: Thanks are due *The Nation* for bringing out into the open two facts that have too long been subject to "Hush, hush!" tactics: that Churchill is no man on whom democratic-minded people can pin their faith, and that appeasement of reaction is merely unity for reaction and disruption of all liberal and general efforts.

For over two years the writer has been saying to his friends that Churchill's record, both before and during this war, shows no trace of toleration for democracy, and only admiration for ruthless force, whenever this does not

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seem to threaten the British Empire. Such comments were often branded as subversive of unity with England in the war. But unity with England ought to mean unity with the liberal elements in a war against fascism, and our uncritical acceptance of Churchill's attitude toward India, toward the De Gaullist forces, toward King George of Greece, and now toward Franco has only dismayed liberal elements in England and strengthened the reactionary elements not only in England but in our own State Department, just as Churchill's commendation of Franco has propped the tottering power of that stupid sadist. We might have strengthened the hands of those Englishmen who know Churchill better than we do, but we chose to appease Churchill and his Tory crowd as we have appeased so many reactionary elements in other lands.

The cries for "unity" with reaction are easy to understand when they come from reactionaries. But some of the most insistent "Hush, hush!" talk has come from people who must detest all for which Churchill stands. They apparently cannot understand that unity is of value only when it is with people moving in the same direction we are going, and that unity with anybody else is a drag that may lead to utter defeat. If we win this war and follow Churchill's ideas of the peace to follow, we might just about as well not have fought the war at all.

ERIC A. STARBUCK
Cambridge, Mass., June 2

CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES G. BOLTE is a young American who joined the British army before Pearl Harbor and fought as a lieutenant under General Montgomery.

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JEROME S. BRUNER has just resigned as editor of the *Public Opinion Quarterly,* organ of the Office of Public Opinion Research at Princeton, to take a government position. He is the author of "Mandate from the People," to be published soon.

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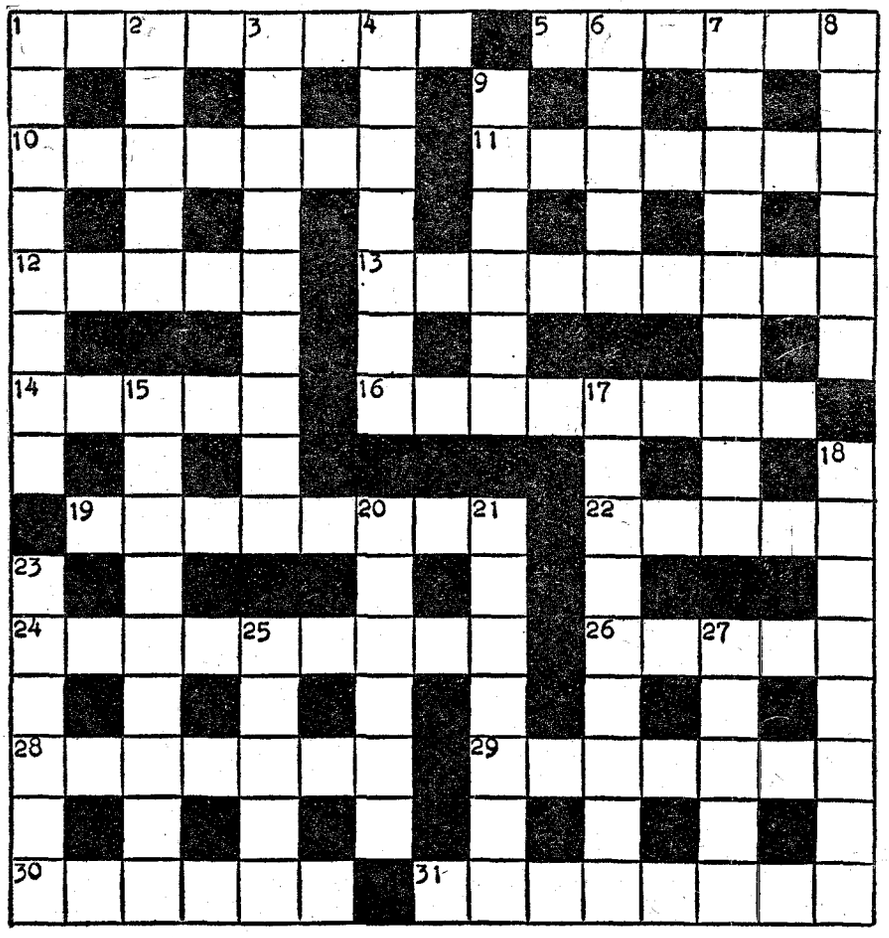
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 68

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 He may marry many women and yet remain single
5 Sam and pal make a blood donation
10 Is self-confident, despite the bombast about Yale
11 Ancient and kind-hearted lord in *Measure for Measure*
12 Fifty are unwilling to take the oath
13 She mangles our shirts for us
14 "And the ----- shall be filled with music" (Longfellow)
16 In literature might be a sister country to France
19 Sounds a suitable description of the wedding day of him who has a wife in every port
22 A sharp change from North
24 Coat of the tree dingo
26 Is this the famous London street where they used to press men into the Service?
28 That can be deleted
29 An unpractical political reformer
30 Specimen that is more than enough without its head
31 Listens, poetically

DOWN

1 State where the great Atlantic liner might have called
2 Allen returns for the girl
3 Italian food that I come to the end to at last
4 Heroine of Dickens' *Great Expectations*
6 Tied up
7 Loon fires and gives battle
8 Help needed to make a donkey sit
9 She might have been amused—before Perseus cut off her head!
15 Whist! What a noise! (two words, 5 and 4)
17 Under the weather (hyphen, 3-2-4)
18 These are of momentary significance
20 Of all Shakespeare's women (says Hazlitt), she is perhaps the most tender and the most artless
21 West of England river smart enough to perform
23 Text book of a U. S. undergrad
25 Inventor of noble extraction
27 He is far from home

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 67

ACROSS:—1 LION AND THE LAMB; 9 DRYSHOD; 10 REPLICA; 11 SYSTEM; 12 REALNESS; 14 YANKEES; 15 PASTE; 17 DUCKS; 19 ENNOBLE; 21 PEMMICAN; 23 HIDDEN; 25 MARTINI; 26 ADHERED; 27 HANGING GARDENS.

DOWN:—1 LADY'S MAID; 2 ODYSSEY; 3 ASH WEDNES; 4 DADO; 5 HARNESSING; 6 LAPEL; 7 MOIDERS; 8 DAYS; 13 VEGETARIAN; 15 PUBLISHER; 16 EUMENIDES; 18 CAMBRIA; 20 ENDORSE; 21 PUMA; 22 ICING; 24 FANG.

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